PANGNIRTUNG

a community study

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. GEOGRAPHY

Geology ..... Page 9
Climate ..... Page 15
Vegetation ..... Page 21
Animal Life ..... Page 27

II. HISTORY

Pre-History ..... Page 39
Early History ..... Page 41
Modern History ..... Page 47

III. THE MODERN COMMUNITY

Statistics ..... Page 55
Political Structure ..... Page 57
Private Business ..... Page 63
Transportation ..... Page 67
Transportation Related Problems ..... Page 69
Communications ..... Page 73
Tourism ..... Page 77

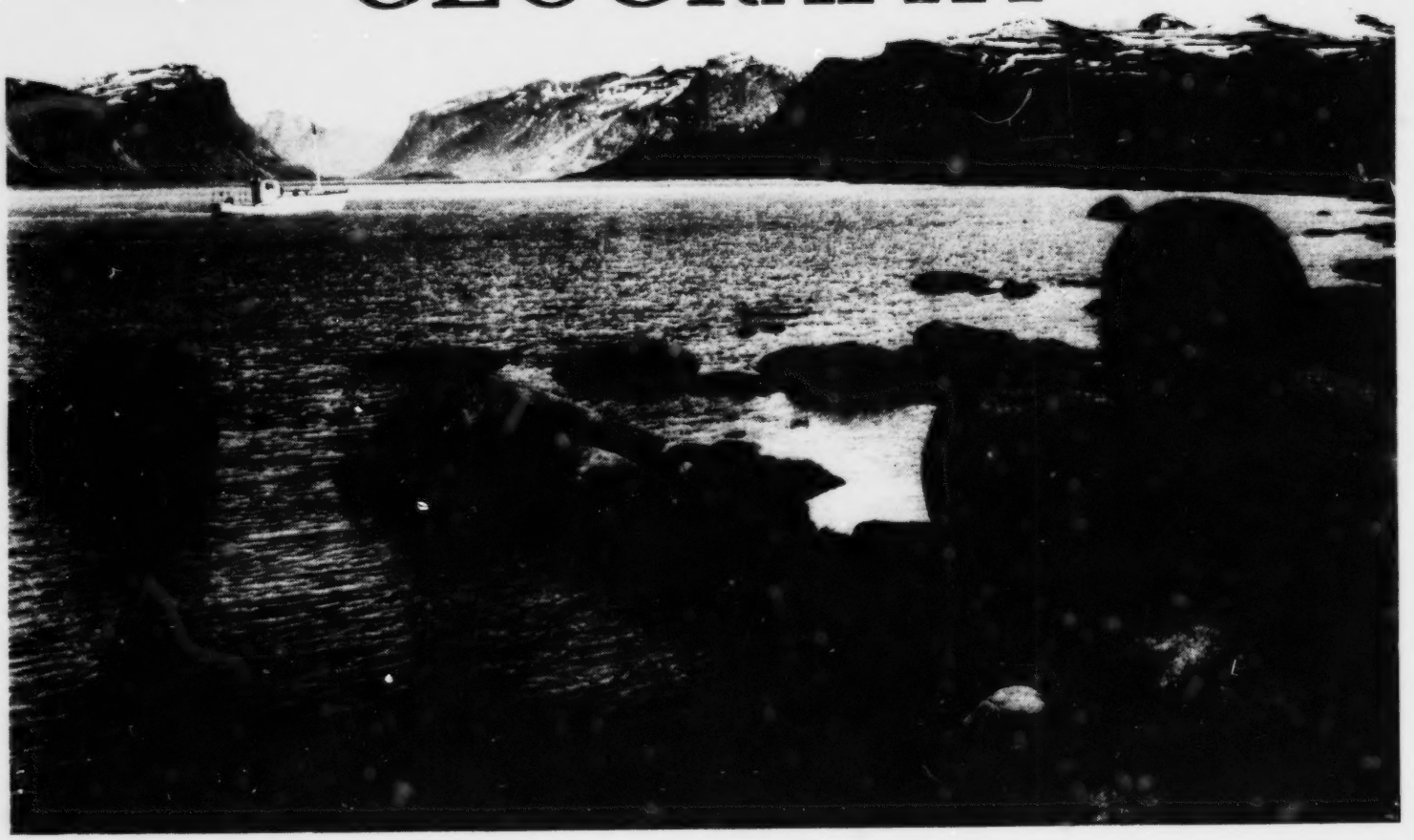
IV. SOCIAL ASPECTS

Language ..... Page 85
Employment ..... Page 89

V. ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION

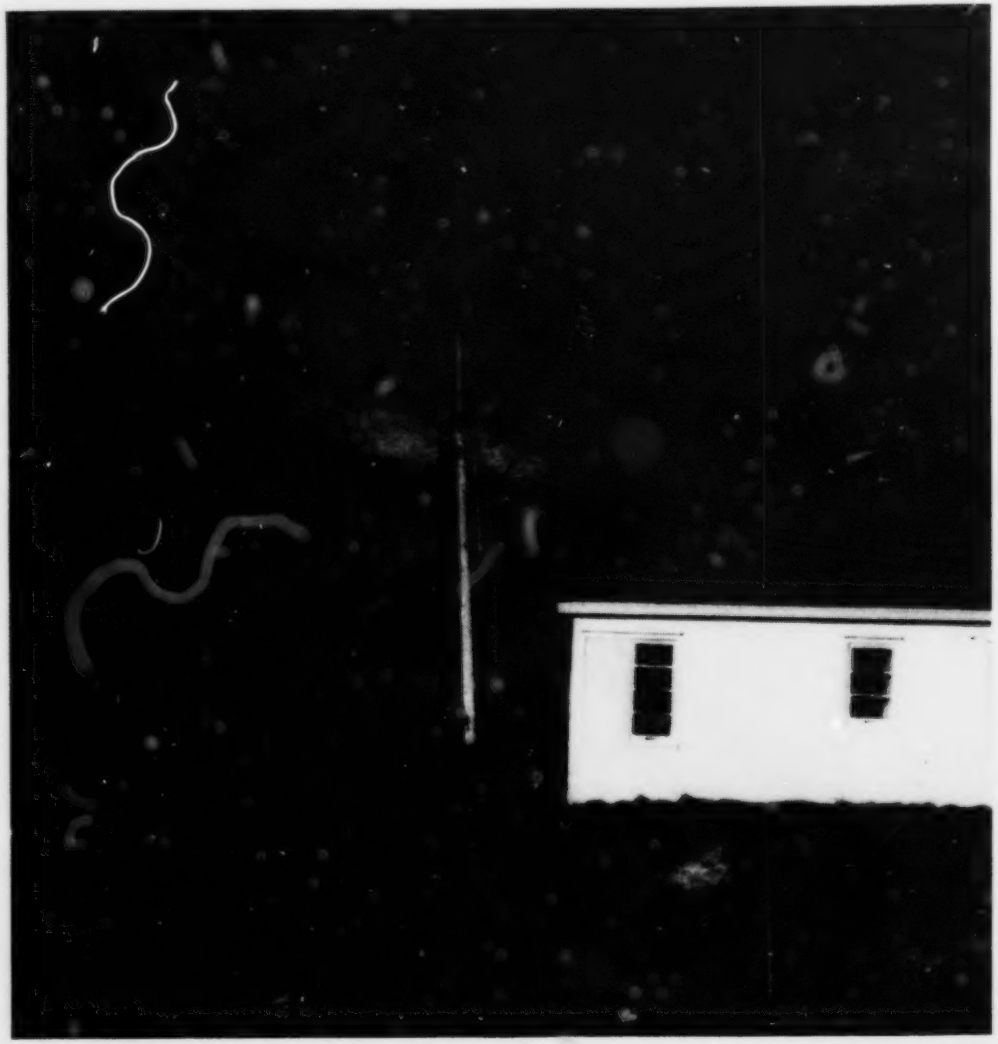
Holidays and Special Days ..... Page 95
Sports and Activities ..... Page 97

GEOGRAPHY



Pangnirtung is located on the Cumberland Peninsula in S.E. Baffin Island, close to the mouth of the Pangnirtung Fiord. At 68°08'N latitude, and 65°44'W longitude, it is a few kilometers south of the Arctic Circle.

Pangnirtung is situated in the Davis Region of the Canadian Shield. This area, extended from Ellesmere Island to North Labrador, is composed mainly of precambrian crystalline bedrock. It is within the Davis Highlands, which extend for 1931 kilometers, and have peaks of 1500 meters or more. The highest peaks, reaching elevations of 1800 to 2100 meters are found within the Penny Ice Cap, just north of Pangnirtung. Prominent features of this region are the steep faces of mountains, rocky hillsides, glaciers, fiords and numerous rivers and streams.



GEOLOGY

I. PRE-GLACIAL PERIOD

It is believed that at one time Baffin Island was located close to the equator. Its climate was temperate, and large trees thrived on Cumberland Peninsula. The existence of coal deposits on Baffin Island today clearly supports this theory. Baffin Island was probably approaching its present location by the end of the Mesozoic Era.

Marine sediments and fossils which have been found far above the present sea level indicate that this area was once covered by a shallow sea. Cumberland Peninsula has probably been above sea level since the land uplifted two or three million years ago.

Baffin Island appears to have been joined to Greenland at one time. Matching veins of lava exist on the northern shores of Cumberland Peninsula and Western Greenland. It is believed that volcanic action and crustal uplift occurred at the time that the two land masses separated.

II. GLACIAL PERIOD

The ice ages, which occurred during the last two million years, drastically changed the appearance of Baffin Island. The spectacular landscape is due mainly to the combined forces of continental ice and local alpine glaciers.

The Laurentide Ice Sheet began to recede on Baffin Island only 8,000 years ago. The Penny Ice Cap is believed to be a true remnant of this sheet. The most spectacular changes on the Cumberland Penninsula occured during the most recent glacial advance, known as the Wisconsin Ice Sheet.

Glacial features on Cumberland Peninsula are especially outstanding as they are comparatively very new. Debris and vegetation have had very little chance to obscure them.

1. Continental Ice

   Large, continental ice movement was primarily restricted to fiords and interior valleys. They were responsible for creating the deep, steep-sided fiords and valleys for which the area is so well known.

   With the exception of the plateau west of the Penny Ice Cap, high altitudes were not greatly affected by continental ice, thus they remain very rugged.

2. Local Alpine Glaciers

These were formed on high land not covered by continental ice. They eroded back into the mountains, forming such unique glacial features as cirques, aretes, horns and serrated ridges.

3. Other Glacial Features

Moraines

These are composed of broken rock deposited by glaciers at their margins. The size of the moraines on the Cumberland Peninsula is misleading. While they appear massive, actually only 1 to 3 meters of rock debris covers a thick core of ice. The debris insulates the ice, bringing melting almost to a stop. There are moraines on Cumberland Peninsula up to 600 meters above sea level. Lateral, medial, and terminal moraines can be found in this area.

Polished Bedrock

As glaciers move across resistant bedrock, the debris carried by the glaciers scrapes, polishes, and grooves the bedrock. These grooves later indicate the direction in which the glacier moved. Some polished bedrock can be found in the Panqnirtunq Pass.

Perched Boulders

As the glacier recedes, the rocks which it carried settle out and are deposited randomly. They may be separated from the bedrock by a few small rocks. Such a boulder is situated in the June River Valley, between Panqnirtunq and Kinqait Passes. The boulder, resting on three small rocks, weighs several tons.

Raised Beaches

The weight of glaciers depressed the land. When the ice receded, beaches were formed. Gradually, the land, freed from the weight of the ice, rose to its pre-glacial elevation, lifting the new beaches. These beaches may be as much as 20 to 70 meters above sea level.

The hamlet of Panqnirtunq is built on a raised beach.

Raised Marine Deposits

Marine deposits have been located far inland, and high on mountain slopes. These may be due to isostatic life, or to the shallow sea that covered much of the Eastern Arctic during the Paleozoic Era.

III. PERIGLACIAL FEATURES AND OTHER MODIFYING FORCES

1. Talus Cones

Rock debris, pried loose by frost action, forms large cones at the bases of steep mountain faces. As these cones build up, they gradually reduce the steep angle of the valley sides.

2. Tundra Polygons

In fairly flat areas, the constant freeze and thaw of moisture in the soil sorts loose materials by size, resulting in a surface pattern of polygons.

3. Solifluction Lobes

On gentle slopes, constant freezing and thawing causes surface materials to flow slowly downslope, resulting in large, slow-moving solifluction lobes.

4. Rock Glaciers

Rock debris accumulated as lateral moraines or talus begins to flow. Rain, meltwaters, etc., eventually fill the spaces between the rocks with ice. The entire deposit flows downslope like a rockfilled glacier.

5. Permafrost

The whole of Baffin Island lies in the area of permafrost. Only a thin layer of earth melts in the summer. Below this, the ground remains frozen all year.

6. Wind

The wind may reach a velocity of 150 km per hour in the Pangnirtung and Kingait Passes. These winds erode some areas and deposit material in others. Generally, sand is deposited in flat, horizontal layers. Compressed plant remains often separate the layers of sand.

The largest deposits are located on both sides of the Owl River, in northern Pangnirtung Pass. These deposits are up to 4.5 meters thick.

7. Tides and Currents

Tides in the Cumberland Sound vary from 7 to 8 meters. The water is frequently funnelled between islands, making passage by boat dangerous.

Large tidal flats occur in the Pangnirtung Fiord, making it necessary for boats in summer to arrive and depart at high tide. In the winter, the constant rise and fall of the water over the tidal flats breaks the ice into large chunks, making passage hazardous.

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CLIMATE

I. CLIMATIC HISTORY

Early in its geographical history (about 3 billion years ago,) Baffin Island is believed to have been situated in the proximity of the equator. Coal and oil deposits on the island today indicate that at this time, Cumberland Peninsula probably experienced a tropical climate. The climate cooled gradually as "continental drift" brought Baffin Island towards its present location.

Approximately 2 million years ago, the climate was drastically and permanently altered by the coming of the ice ages. This period was marked by a lowering of air and ocean temperatures. The three major advances of glaciation were interspersed with periods of relative warmth.

For reasons as yet unclear, major glaciers receded for the final time in eastern Baffin Island less than 8,000 years ago. Temperatures dropped, and precipitation increased once more, causing glaciers to grow in Cumberland Peninsula, during the "little ice age" which lasted from about 1600 to 1850 A.D.

The climate of Cumberland Sound is still subject to some fluctuation. In general, the summers are short and warm, and the winters long and cold. The precipitation is slightly higher than that of the Arctic mainland.

The climate of the region is modified by the topography and by proximity to a large body of cold water. The angle of the sun, the steepness of the fiord walls, and the high hills combine to reduce the amount of direct sunlight. Due to the combined effects of the Penny Ice Cap, and the fiord coastline, strong winds sometimes occur.

II. RECONSTRUCTING PAST CLIMATES

1. Glaciers

By measuring advances of glaciers, or examining positions of moraines, information regarding past climates of the area can be gained.

2. Palynology

Pollen grains, which are very resistant to decay, can survive thousands of years. When these have been accumulated, dated and identified, the vegetation of the area at a given time can be constructed. The vegetation, in turn, suggests the corresponding climate.

3. Marine Mollusks

Many species of marine mollusks survive only in certain temperatures. Similar to pollen study, a study of mollusks suggests a corresponding climate.

4. Weather Station

A permanent weather station has been operating in Pangnirtung since the 1920's. Information from this source has been available for a relatively short time.

III. CLIMATE FLUCTUATIONS

The upper atmosphere moves in a series of warm or cool waves. Baffin Island is located directly under a large, low pressure trough. As a result, the predominant winds in Pangnirtung are from the south east. Any change in the position of this trough results in a change in the climate.

1. Temperatures

Summer temperatures average 5° to 8°C, but fluctuate daily. Extreme summer temperatures range from -5° to 20°C. In January and February, temperatures may dip below -40°C.

2. Precipitation

Total annual precipitation is between 25 to 38 cm. One or two days a week some form of precipitation can be expected. Rain and snow are likely at any time of the year, though the greatest amount of precipitation is received in the late summer and fall (mid-August to mid-November).

3. Daylight

There is a dark period from the middle of November to early February. During this period, the sun is hidden by surrounding mountains and the hamlet of Pangnirtung is in shadow. There is continual daylight (but no "midnight sun") from mid-May to mid-August.

4. Ice Cover

The ice in the Pangnirtung Fiord usually breaks up in June. The ice in Cumberland Sound doesn't break until mid-July. Even then, it is prevented from moving out until early August by polar ice in the Davis Strait. Ice may remain in shallow inlets until late June.

5. Ice and Water Modification

In summer, the temperature of surface water doesn't rise above 4°C. This slows the warming of coastal areas, and inland areas along the fiord. The climate at the mouth of the Pangnirtung Fiord can be quite different from that at the head of the fiord, some 32 km inland. This thermal lag also creates fog conditions in spring and late summer. These reduce visibility, and therefore hunting trips.

6. Topographic Modification

The rugged topography of the Cumberland Peninsula has a great effect on the local climate of the Pangnirtung area.

a) Winds:

The ice cap on the Penny Highlands and the fiord coastline have the effect of funnelling the air, which in turn causes persistent winds and increases the wind chill factor. These winds may, at times, exceed a velocity of 150 km/hr. In 1971 and again in 1975, freak wind storms did considerable damage to buildings.

b) Frost Pockets:

Cold air, in response to the pull of gravity, drains down the steep mountain faces into the valleys. "Frost Pockets" are produced, resulting in temperature inversion: the coldest air being closest to the ground, and the temperatures increasing with elevation, rather than decreasing.

c) Fog Conditions:

The cooler air close to the ground may become "saturated", creating fog or low stratus clouds at low altitudes. Blue sky and mountain peaks remain visible at high altitudes.

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VEGETATION

I. IMPORTANCE

The primary importance of plants in the Cumberland Sound Region is to provide food for the animals. Plants were used to supplement the basic meat diet of the Inuit of this area. Some plants were also used for fuel, insulation, etc.

II. THE ECO-SYSTEM

The eco-system of the barrens is best described as unstable. Plants which grow in the moss-lichen tundra section struggle more for survival against the harsh environment than with other species. Plant life in this area is easily destroyed or altered. Because of the harsh conditions they endure, their annual growth rate is low.

III FACTORS AFFECTING PLANT GROWTH AND ASSOCIATED PLANT ADAPTATIONS

1. Permafrost

Due to the existence of permafrost, the depth of the root systems must be limited. Solifluction (downward creep of surface layer) caused by permafrost, kills vegetation.

2. Low Winter Temperatures

The entire plant is exposed to severe winter temperatures, as there is little snow or dead leaves to insulate the part of the plant which is above ground, and the roots cannot reach beyond the permafrost. The entire plant must be able to withstand these temperatures.

3. Cool, Short Summers

These reduce the productivity of the plant, as well as slowing down pollinating insects. The plants are able to withstand this by:

a) Trapping Heat:

i) They retain dead leaves, thus increasing their internal temperatures by as much as 15°C.
ii) Hanging bells of plants such as arctic heather trap the warm air rising.
iii) Hairy stems or woolly seed covers insulate the plants.
iv) A dark pigmentation which does not reflect the heat.
v) Sunward facing flowers concentrate their heat in the centers.

b) Reproduction Methods

As the growing season is so short, plants seldom rely on seeds as their sole means for reproduction. Other methods used are rootstocks, runners and shoots.

4. Long Days

Twenty-four hours of daylight help to compensate for the short summers and severe winters. Plants rely on this to supply them with enough energy for reproduction.

5. Poor Soils

Slow bacterial action, caused by poor aeration, low temperatures and high acidity result in soils low in nitrogen and phosphorus. Many plants have adapted so that they are now able to take in increased nitrogen.

6. Strong Winds

Wind, carrying abrasive sand and snow particles, batters the plants. Plants take refuge in growing in dense matts, close to the ground. They often grow in the lee of rocks. In winter, no living plants are left above the snow.

Wind assists plant growth by spreading the seeds.

IV. SPECIES

There are few species of plants on the tundra, with great numbers of plants of each species. For our purposes, only those species which served a purpose in the traditional lives of the Inuit of Cumberland Peninsula will be mentioned.

1. Berries

Crowberries: A creeping shrub, it has bright green spiky leaves growing 3 to 4 mm long. The tiny, red flowers soon give way to shiny, black berries. They are a favourite food of ptarmigan.

The Inuit ate them fresh, or made them into a pudding mixed with seal fat and water. They were also picked frozen in the winter and eaten.

Before the berries appeared, the whole plants were used as insulation. They were piled about 12 cm thick over the tents.

Cranberries: They are quite rare in this area, growing only in low altitudes. They have smooth, shiny leaves that are oval in shape, and delicious, shiny red berries.

Cranberries are often eaten fresh. At times they are washed and partially dried. They were eaten only in season.

2. Shrubs

These composed a large part of the vegetation in the dwarf shrub-heath tundra.

Willow: Willows are the bushiest and most wide-spread plant of the region. They may, in sheltered areas, reach a meter in height, but usually creep along the ground. They provide fodder for birds and animals.

Traditionally, willow was used as a fuel for cooking fires. The catkins were made into wicks for kudliks (stone lamps) and the smallest branches were burned in the kudliks as incense.

Heather: Heather covers fairly large areas of dry tundra. The tiny, dark green leaves grow around the stems in groups of four. The tiny, white bell-shaped flowers hang down to catch the warm air rising.

Small amounts of heather are frequently burned in kudliks for their pleasant aroma. Large quantities were placed under beds to provide insulation and softness.

Labrador Tea: This sweet-scented shrub grows in relatively dry tundra. The stems are covered with dark green needle-like leaves, and topped with clusters of white flowers.

Combined with boiling water, labrador tea makes a pleasant drink. It can also be dried and smoked in pipes.

3. Grasses and Sedges:

On damper and rawer soils, often former river and lake beds, is the grassland tundra.

Cotton Grass: A slender grass, it grows one or three "cotton balls", depending on the type. It grows in swampy areas.

The "cotton balls" were used cosmetically, as we use commercial cotton balls today. They were used to clean the eyes. A newborn infant's umbilical cord was tied with sinew, cut with a knife, and then cleaned with the arctic "cotton ball". Cotton grass was often stored in fish skins or sealskin bags until it was required.

Grasses: A variety of grasses and sedges is plentiful in the area. These were used as insoles in kamiks for warmth and for ventilation.

4. Flowering Plants

There is a great range of flowering plants, growing from the valley floors to the mountain slopes.

Camomile: This plant has fern-like leaves and white flowers with yellow centres. It grows in gravelly areas. Camomile was frequently brought into Inuit homes for its decorative qualities, as well as for its pleasant aroma.

Dandelion: A member of the sunflower family, this plant has long, flat leaves and a dark yellow flower. It was used to decorate homes.

Lousewort: It grows from a yellowish root, similar to a parsnip. The leaves are fern-like. The woolly stem is topped by a cluster of yellow or pink flowers. Its only purpose was decorative.

Mountain Sorrel: This plant is found in damp areas close to running water. The kidney-shaped leaves may be green or bronze in color. The spikes bear red, disc-like flowers. The leaves of this plant were eaten. Sometimes the juice would be squeezed out of the leaves and drunk.

Sandwort: This sprawling plant with elliptical leaves and tiny white flowers is found growing on sand dunes and beaches. When dried, this plant can be smoked in pipes as a very strong tobacco.

Prickly Saxifrage: The leaves of this plant, which range from yellow to red-brown, have prongs. The white flower has five petals. It grows in clumps in dry areas. It was used as smoking tobacco.

Wintergreen: This plant is abundant, especially on southern slopes. The leaves are round and dark green. The flowers, which droop from a central stem, may be white or pale pink. The leaves were used for making tea. They were dried by placing them between two stones and then heating the stones. They were then stored for the winter.

Others:

Moss: The brown moss was used for making wicks for the kudliks.

Mushrooms: These were sometimes cooked with seal fat and eaten.

Puffballs: Their powder was sprinkled on cuts to speed healing. The cut was covered, then bound with whale sinew for a week.

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ANIMAL LIFE

Traditionally, the existence of the Inuit was almost wholly dependent upon hunting and fishing. This made the Inuit unique among the hunter-gatherers of the world, most of whom relied more heavily on plants to sustain them. Thousands of years after the Inuit became established in Baffin Island, the whales, and to a lesser degree, fur bearing mammals, attracted the first Europeans to this area.

The animals, which still play a major role in sustaining lives of the Inuit, are, in turn, dependent on plants for their existence. It is essential, as well, that certain parts of the environment be preserved. The preservation of caribou calving grounds, nesting areas for geese, polar bear denning grounds, sea bird nesting colonies, etc., is vital to the web of live.

The animals in the Pangnirtung area can be grouped roughly into four categories: marine mammals, land mammals, fowl and fish. For our purposes, only those animals which fill a direct need of the Inuit will be mentioned.

Conspicuous by their absence are the musk oxen and ground squirrels, which do not inhabit Baffin Island, though they are common in other parts of the tundra environment.

1. Animal Adaptation

In order to survive in a harsh environment, arctic animals have undergone certain major adaptations.

Migration: Most birds of the Baffin Region spend the cold winters in southern parts. They return north in the spring to breed. Breeding is delayed to ensure that food is available when the fledglings require it.

Some marine mammals also migrate. This is not an attempt to locate warmer waters, but rather to avoid being trapped beneath winter ice.

Hibernation: Some animals spend part of the winter in hibernation. Pregnant female polar bears, for example, often enter their dens in mid-November, and emerge in late March with their cubs. Males only take shelter for 50 to 60 days during the darkest days of winter.

Shelter: Ermine and lemmings stay beneath the insulating snow for most of the winter.

Food Storage: Lemmings build nests of hay which supply a food source, as well as warmth.

Insulation: Ptarmigan and owls have feathers which extend to the toes. Most fur bearing animals have very dense coats. Marine mammals have thick layers of blubber to protect them from the icy waters. Animals such as the fox have shorter ears than most of their southern counterparts. Most northern animals are larger in size than comparable animals in the south, resulting in proportionately less surface area per body volume from which heat loss can occur.

2. MARINE MAMMALS

Certain areas of the ocean are more capable of supporting life than others. In this respect the area under the Arctic ice cap can be compared to a desert region, while certain favourable coastlines can support as much life as a tropical rain forest. The productivity of a marine area is not dependent on mild temperatures, but rather on the presence of favourable conditions.

Generally speaking, arctic oceans are more productive than equal areas of arctic land masses.

Marine mammals have played an important role in the development of past and present Inuit cultures in the Baffin Region.

The location of Inuit camps was usually based on the presence of seals, and/or whales. Marine mammals provided the Inuit with food, fuel, clothing and other items of daily use.

Polar Bear: Polar bears have been classed with marine mammals due to the amount of time which they spend either on the ice or swimming. They can be found anywhere along the coastline of the Cumberland Sound, though they are most frequent along the Davis Strait. Their main source of food is seals.

The bear plays an important role in the traditions of the Inuit. It is hunted on a quota system by the Inuit from November until the end of May. Pangnirtung has an annual quota of eight bears. Most of these are taken in the spring.

Ringed Seal: This is the most common marine mammal of the area. It can be found anywhere there is sufficient food and fast ice for pupping.

Most adults and some young seals remain year round. They survive in the winter beneath the ice by maintaining breathing holes. The rest, mostly immature seals, spend the winter at the floe edge.

In spring, they can be seen basking on the ice. They give birth to their young in dens under snow drifts on the ice.

The seal is the basis of Pangnirtung's economy. The skins are sold for between $10 and $20 each. The nutritious meat is an important source of food for people and dogs. The skin is used for making kamiks and mitts. Until recently, seal skins were also used for making tents.

Harp Seal: This is a gregarious, migratory seal. It spends its winters in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. After pupping, it returns to summer in the north, where it is commonly seen until October/November in Cumberland Sound and along the east coast of Baffin Island.

The adults are easily identified by the large, dark harp shape on a silvery background. The young have the same silvery coat, but their dark markings are irregular splotches. Adults may weigh up to 136 kg.

The harp seal is hunted by the Inuit for its skin. Between 700 and 800 animals are harvested annually in the Pangnirtung area. Since it is only in the area for part of the year, it is less important to the Inuit than the ring seal.

Bearded Seal: This is the largest seal of the area. It is common all around the Cumberland Peninsula. It chooses to remain close to open water, but is capable of maintaining breathing holes when trapped under land-fast ice.

The long, white whiskers for which it was named are quite sensitive and are probably used to locate food on the ocean floor. It is sometimes called the "square flipper" seal because its front flippers are squared off rather than rounded as those of most seals. Adults weigh up to 340 kg.

The skin of the bearded seal is prized by the Inuit because it is very thick and tough. It is used for the soles of kamiks because it is stronger and lasts longer than the skin from other seals.

Bowhead Whale: These whales are gregarious. They can be found in pods numbering in the hundreds. They are a migratory species, whose main habitat is the Arctic Ocean.

In Pangnirtung, this whale is more commonly known as the Greenald Whale. It can grow to a length of 20 meters.

In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this whale attracted American and European whalers to Cumberland Sound. They established two major whaling stations here. Their remains can be seen today.

Although this whale was hunted almost to extinction at one time, its numbers are now slowly increasing.

Its bones, when several hundred years old, are ideal for carving.

Killer Whale: This is a migratory animal which summers in arctic waters. The largest member of the dolphin family, a killer whale may reach 9.4 meters. It has striking black and white markings.

It is apparently feared by all animals, except the sperm whale and the bull walrus. It has been known to drive beluga whales over the reef in Pangnirtung.

Although they are feared by the Inuit, there has never been a reported attack on man by a killer whale.

Beluga Whale: The calves are grey in color. Adults turn white, and grow to a length of 5 meters. They are both gregarious and migratory. They winter near the floe edges in Baffin Bay and Davis Strait. They calve in the shallow water of the fiords.

In the past they provided food for dogs, leather for kamiks, coverings for umiaks, oil for lamps, and food for people. The liver, brain, heart and guts are often cooked. Today they are mainly hunted for their muktuk, which is considered a delicacy.

About a thousand belugas are harvested annually in the Eastern Arctic.

Narwhal: The first narwhal tusks brought to Europe were thought to belong to a land mammal, resulting in the legend of the unicorn.

Only the males have significant tusks, sometimes up to 3 meters in length. The tusk, in reality a tooth, has no known purpose.

They are gregarious and migratory, wintering in Davis Strait. Few narwhal are taken in Pangnirtung. In 1975, 200 swam up the Pangnirtung Fiord in late October.

The black skin is a delicacy for the Inuit.

3. LAND MAMMALS

Since food is extremely scarce in the extensive Penny Icecap, most land mammals on the Cumberland Peninsula keep to the coastal areas. Generally speaking, an increase in latitude or altitude corresponds to a decrease in land animals.

The value of a hunting area is based not only on the number of animals within the area, but also on such factors as accessibility. Due to the low productivity of the land, a larger land area is required to support a hunter than in most other parts of Canada. It is difficult, with the limited information currently available, to judge how many people the land could support.

Barren Ground Caribou: These are found mainly at the head of fiords, south-west of the park, and directly north of the Penny Icecap. Their former range has been limited by increased human habitation and their former migration route has been disrupted by the hamlet of Pangnirtung.

Traditionally, the caribou was a major source of food and clothing for the Inuit. The sinew was chewed like gum.

Wolf: Since the wolf relies primarily on caribou for its food in this region, it is seldom seen far from the areas where the caribou live.

In 1975, the $40 bounty on wolves was lifted.

Wolf pelts provide excellent trim for the hoods of parkas.

Arctic Fox: This is the most common land mammal of the region. It is almost wholly dependent on the lemming for its food, thus its population fluctuates with the number of lemmings. They are trapped for their pelts by the Inuit from November to mid-April.

Red Fox: The red fox competes for food and space with the arctic fox. Rare in 1923, it is now fairly common. This is due largely to the fact that it is more wary, and therefore copes better with the human factor.

This fox, along with a few silver and cross fox, is also trapped for its pelt by the Inuit from November to mid-April.

Arctic Hare: They are most frequently found on hillsides and ridge tops. Their white coats serve as excellent camouflage.

They are hunted for food by the Inuit. The lung of a hare, tied over a cut, is said to speed healing.

Lemming: The lemming is the chief food of the arctic fox.

Lemming skins were used by the Inuit to heal boils. A boil would be cut, then the skin of the lemming would be tied over the cut to draw out the fluid. The skins were said to gain strength when they were kept in water for a long period of time.

4. Fowl

Although the major breeding and nesting areas for fowl are within the western plains and lakes of Baffin Island, a fairly large number of fowl spill over into the eastern portion. There are large numbers of birds in the area, but relatively few species.

With the exception of the raven, ptarmigan and snowy owl, most of the birds migrate.

The Inuit hunt many species of fowl, and also collect their eggs to supplement their diet.

Canada Goose: They nest on coastal plains, close to bodies of water. They gather their food on the berry-bearing tundra.

These geese appear in Pangnirtung in late spring and in autumn, enroute to and from their nesting grounds. They often stop on the lakes behind the hamlet.

Snow Goose: These birds nest in large numbers on the western plains of Baffin Island.

Common Eider: This is probably the most common duck in the Pangnirtung region. Although primarily a marine species, it is occasionally found in fresh water near the coast.

It is a common source of food for the Inuit during the summer and autumn. In some areas the people remove the down from the nests for making clothing.

Rock Ptarmigan: It can be distinguished from the willow ptarmigan by its black tail and eye stripe. Generally, it prefers higher, drier ground, and can be frequently seen on hillsides.

It is hunted for food by the Inuit at all times of the year.

Other Species: Other birds of this area are the northern fulmar, red-throated loon, peregrine falcon, glaucous gull, arctic tern, snowy owl, common raven and snow bunting.

5. FISH

There are few fish in this region. By far the most important, as well as the most common, is the arctic char.

Arctic Char: Both freshwater and saltwater char are common in this area. They reach a maximum of 86 cm and 15 kg. The growth rate is very slow because of the cold environment.

The char is sold commercially to the Co-op and to the Bay. These fish are taken from specified lakes under a quota system. They are also caught for domestic purposes.

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HISTORY

PRE-HISTORY

I. EARLY BEGINNINGS

A land bridge appeared between Siberia and Alaska about 4500 B.C. Coastal hunters from somewhere in Asia, possibly even as far away as Mongolia, migrated across this natural bridge to continue their nomadic life in North America. One of these groups of nomads followed the musk-oxen migrations to Greenland, but missed Baffin Island.

A second, more sophisticated group, the Pre-Dorset, actually reached Baffin Island by about 3500 B.C. They brought with them two significant inventions, the toggle-head harpoon and stone lamp. The harpoon win the seal and whale hunt, while the lamp used the by-products of the hunt - the blubber and oil or fat. The use of these inventions continued up until about 35 years ago.

With its arrival about 2800 B.C., the Dorset culture superseded all previous cultures. It is named after an important archaeological site found at Cape Dorset on Baffin Island. The Dorset people were responsible for many changes in the northern way of life. They hunted whales on a larger scale than ever before, they built snow houses, and they created kayaks and the larger skin boats called umiaks.

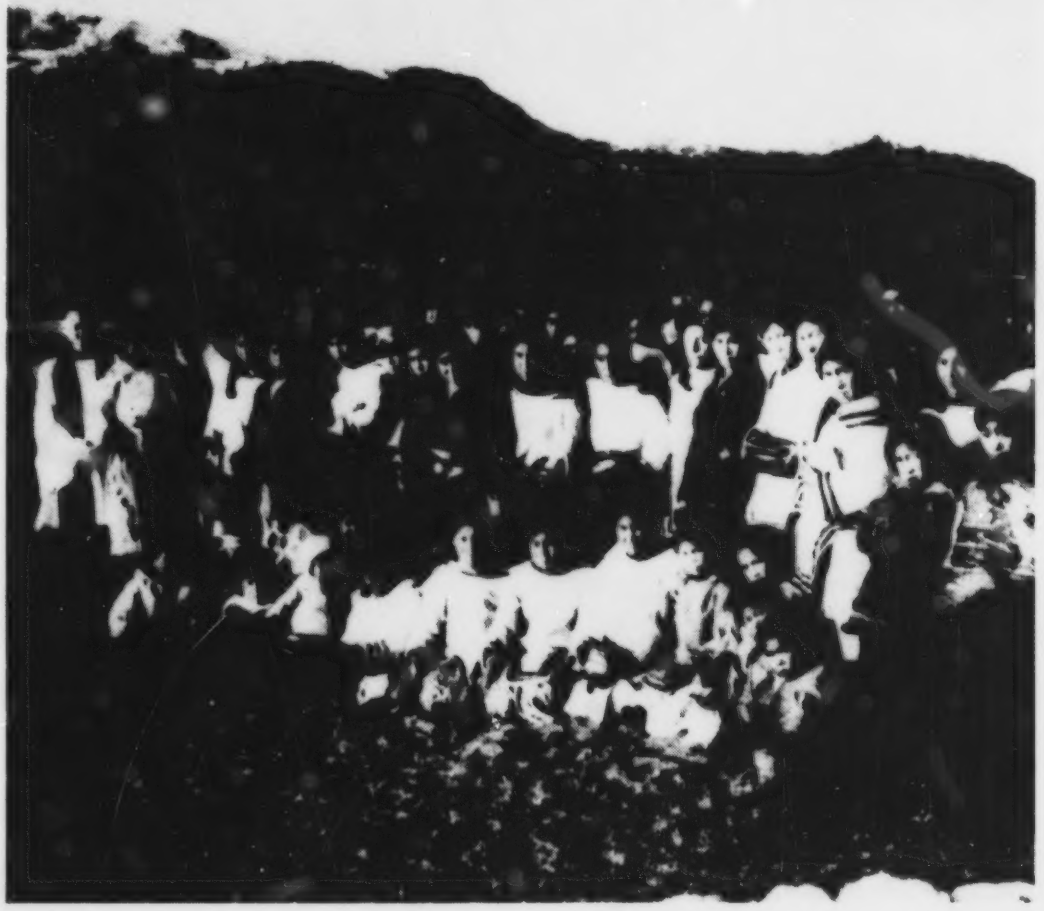
About 1000 A.D., the last indigenous invaders arrived from Alaska. They are called the Thule. It is thought that they were, at that time, primarily whalers. It is their descendants who are the Inuit or Eskimo of today.

The Dorset people built their houses partially submerged in the ground with turf or stone walls and roofs. They were a sedentary people who tended to live in a more permanent and definitely defined hunting area.

The invading Thule, by contrast, were more nomadic in their hunting patterns. This may perhaps be due to unstable climate conditions as well as to a rise and fall in the population of whales upon which they were always very dependent. Thule houses had flat stones on the floor and were walled with turf and whale bones. Whale ribs were placed laterally to serve as both walls and roofs. They were covered by skins. Scattered all around Pangnirtung are many remains of both Dorset and Thule houses. Unfortunately, "modern progress" succeeded in destroying many of the sites before proper attention could be given to them.

What happened when the Dorset and Thule peoples first met is largely speculation. There was some fighting but there must have been some inter-marrying as well. Within a hundred years of first contact the Dorset people had almost totally disappeared.

Pangnirtung people tell many stories and legends about these people whom the Inuit call Tunit or Toonit. The Tunit have great respect, for they are seen as giants who could kill a polar bear with a single blow. They had supernatural medicinal and magical abilities. At night, they would sleep with their feet high upon rocks, while their heads were lower on the ground. Many more such tales are recorded in the excellent book from Povungnituk, Eskimo Stories Unikkatatuat.



EARLY HISTORY

II. THE MIDDLE YEARS - THE VIKINGS

At almost the same time as the Thule were migrating across the Arctic another group was beginning its trek from northern Europe. The Vikings or Norsemen were searching in an ever-widening area for new worlds to capture and settle. By 863 A.D. they had arrived in Iceland and within another one hundred and fifty years they had not only settled in Greenland, but were also familiar with large portions of the North American coastline.

It was long assumed that the Vikings had restricted their activities to southern waters only. This assumption was shattered in 1975-76 by a discovery at Lake Harbour on Baffin Island. What was found was a wooden doll decorated in a most un-Inuit fashion. Carved into the front of the doll was a large wooden cross, a universal sign of Christianity. The Lake Harbour Discovery proved conclusively that Europeans, presumably Vikings, were present on Baffin Island by the year 1000 A.D.

Padloping Island, in the Pangnirtung area, is the setting of many local stories about both Viking landings and remains. It is said that on the island there are runic carvings on stones. After they were found in the 1950's an American naval officer placed the stones with the runic carved side down to preserve them from the elements. They have not been found since. There is another local tale about a large black boat with no metal nails or joints which has become fossilized high above the present water marks on Padloping Island. Is this long-since beached ship of Viking origin? Mr. Michael Gardener, the Anglican Minister of Pangnirtung, believes it is and is attempting to prove it. His attempts to find it have so far been frustrated by the island's inaccessibility and by poor weather.

It is not likely that the Vikings themselves ever visited the Pangnirtung area but their reputation and, perhaps, influence may well have been felt. The Vikings are known to have described the Inuit in their letters and reports. They called them "Skraelings," but it is uncertain which people they are referring to - the Dorset or the Thule. Even the much later voyages of Martin Frobisher in 1576 are shrouded in doubt over this point. It is generally believed that the people Frobisher met were Thule but it is possible that it could have been the Dorset.

III. THE EUROPEANS ARRIVE

Large sections of southern Baffin were explored by Frobisher on his voyage from 1576 to 1578. The first recorded discovery of Cumberland Sound, however, was made by John Davis in 1585. Davis experienced unusually clear sailing, and even reached the head of the Sound where he found two islands he named for the Earl of Cumberland. Early maps of the area are confused and even William Baffin, in 1616, assumed that the region to the north was a large island and for many years Cumberland was believed not to be a sound at all, but a strait.

Two hundred and fifty years passed between John Davis and the next recorded mention of Cumberland Sound by William Penney in 1840.

IV. THE WHALERS

By the year 1590, over 350 European ships, mostly from Scotland, were whaling in the Davis Strait between Greenland and Baffin Island, a distance of only 402 km. Probably the whalers did penetrate Cumberland Sound on more than one occasion in the years that followed.

The importance of whaling for Cumberland Sound cannot be emphasized strongly enough. The Thule hunted right whales and the large baleen whales in both open boats called "umiaks" and in the smaller "kayaks." Their skill as hunters must have been remarkable. The whales were put to maximum use by the Inuit. The bones were used as rafters and walls of houses as well as runners for their dogsleds. Baleen was used for bows, combs, and anything that required a soft, pliable substance. The blubber was melted down into oil for heating, cooking and lighting. One large whale could very easily supply the needs and wants of an entire Inuit family for an entire year.

The Thule used the stone and whale constructed homes, permanent though they were, for only a small part of the year. In the bad weather of early winter, the Inuit gathered in these houses for games and feasts. Often the buildings were huge enough to accommodate sixty to eighty people and some were small - just large enough for a single family of about eight to ten people.

The Thule of this period were generally still nomadic, travelling as the hunting region varied. At this time the European whalers arrived and coincidentally also a slight change in the climate. As the colder period began, whales disappeared slowly but surely from northern waters. It was this climatic change and the sudden arrival of the whalers in southern Baffin that prompted serious changes in the Thule way of life.

Very quickly, the umiak disappeared for all practical purposes. Hunting practices turned away from whaling to the more coastal walrus hunting. There was a great increase in hunting such land prey as caribou, rabbit and ptarmigan. Within a few years the strong marine-based economy had evolved into a stronger land-based economy.

For over two centuries there was no direct contact by the whalers with the people of Cumberland Sound. However the whalers had a very direct and important influence upon the very same Inuit. Metal began to appear everywhere in all shapes and sizes - in knives, harpoons and even dogsled runners. Pots, pans, tea and coffee and even tobacco began to appear all over the Sound. These, of course, were not common commodities but were luxuries.

It was in the 1830's that the northern whaling grounds began to fail. Attention now began to turn to the southerly, more populated and especially more dangerous (in terms of ice and navigation) area of the Davis Strait.

William Penney was sent out, by the whalers themselves, to chart, explore and determine the approximate number of whales in the Cumberland Sound. His recommendation in 1842 that a permanent whaling station be maintained on land within the Sound was not acted upon immediately. Yet Penney's voyages did prove that whaling could be profitable and in 1851 the Americans established a whaling station in Cumberland Sound near Gjoa Haven.

With their rivals firmly established in the Sound, the Scottish whalers had little option but to give Penney the go-ahead he wanted. In 1853 he set up a long-term whaling station at Kerkerten, near the mouth of the Pangnirtung Fiord.

I. THE WHALING STATIONS

With the establishment of three whaling stations (Kekerten, Blacklead Island and Cape Haven) the real history of the beginnings of Pangnirtung as a settlement began. The traditional Inuit way of life was destroyed forever.

For the Inuit, whales had always been a natural part of the eco-system. They only harvested as many as were needed and then they used every part of the whale. The skin of the whale (muktuk) was considered a particular delicacy and is still very popular today.

Economics, and not the eco-system, was the major factor for the European whalers. Blubber, which could be melted down for oil and baleen (flexible plastic-like bone found in the mouth of the whale) were the only parts of economic value. The rest was left as waste. Pangnirtung has made a lucrative industry from the sale of carvings created from the discarded whale bones left down through the years.

It should be remembered that one baleen whale was sufficient to provide for one Inuit family for one year. In comparison, Europeans slaughtered hundreds, if not thousands, of whales every year in pursuit of profit. The establishment of the whaling stations in Cumberland Sound (two Scottish - one at Kekerten and one at Blacklead Island, one American - at Cape Haven) had two-fold consequences for the Inuit.

The Inuit were needed to crew the ships and to carve the huge whales into smaller, manageable pieces for storing and shipping. Also, such large groups of whalers spawned important secondary industries. Supplies from overseas were never plentiful and constantly had to be supplemented by the local Inuit, who hunted and trapped to feed the whalers and to provide furs which provided extra profits for the whalers.

These employment opportunities drew large numbers of Inuit from the hundreds of camps up and down Cumberland Strait. Many camps simply disappeared and by the 1880's the total number of camps had dropped to about forty, many within an easy day's travel of the whaling stations.

As a consequence, the stations destroyed much of the traditional way of life of the Inuit. Faced with semi-permanent employment, the nomadic life soon dropped away. For the first time the Inuit began to rely upon others to supply their basic needs. Inuit now began to supply food for other Inuit who had little time for hunting. Guns, ammunition, boats, tea, tobacco and alcohol were supplied by European whalers and traders, who convinced the Inuit that these things were both important and necessary.

The Inuit were not ready for the diseases and sicknesses the Europeans brought with them. William Penney estimated the population of Cumberland Sound to be about 1,000 in 1842. By 1857, it had dropped to about 350.

II. THE TRADERS

The whalers attracted entrepeneurs. Traders, mainly independent ones, set up posts all over Cumberland Sound. The Hudson's Bay Company did not really get interested in such trading opportunities until the late 1880's.

III. THE MISSIONARIES

Missionaries also arrived, intent upon imposing morals upon the whalers and in Christianizing the Inuit. The whalers never submitted but the Inuit surrendered en masse. A first attempt by the Moravians failed, but a second, by the Anglicans under the leadership of Reverend E.J. Peck, ensured that the Baffin Inuit, by and large, became and remained Anglican, to this day. St. Luke's Anglican Church is a good example of this success.

IV. THE EXPLORERS

Explorers were attracted to Cumberland Sound, as well. In 1877, a German, Ludwig Kumilien, conducted various scientific experiments up and down the Sound. Five years later, a German Polar Commission established a scientific station at Sirmilling Bay. This expedition's most famous follower was Franz Boas, who travelled all over Baffin Island for several years studying the linguistic and cultural way of life of the Inuit. In 1888, Boas published his now famous book, The Central Eskimo, based mainly upon his travels and studies in Cumberland Sound.

Another local explorer of unusual character was William Duval. Much mystery surrounds his life and actions. Duval fell in love with the country and its people. He married an Inuk and raised a large family. He remained in the Cumberland Sound area until his death in the 1930's at a small camp called Ushualuk. Mount Duval, towering above Pangnirtung, was named for him. His descendants, now called Akpalialuk, make up a large percentage of Pangnirtung's population.

The Inuit managed, in spite of all these changes, to maintain a remarkable balance of lifestyle. As Tales From Pangnirtung recalls, the whalers were an intrusion upon their way of life in the camps, yet they never managed to dominate in a social sense. Economically, the Inuit did rely heavily upon the whalers for survival. Some social customs were adapted. "Eskimo Dancing" is an obvious version of the jigs and reels that the Scottish and American whalers brought with them.

MODERN HISTORY

I. THE FOUNDING

By the 1890's, the whaling stations were in sharp decline. Plastic had begun to replace baleen for industrial purposes. The harvest of whales, perhaps because of overhunting, dropped off rapidly.

As whaling lost its importance, the Cumberland Sound Inuit discovered that they could not survive alone in their traditional ways as they had before the Europeans arrived. Many could no longer hunt without guns and ammunition and now they considered most trading post items to be no longer luxuries, but necessities.

Small nuclear family units began to set up camps all over the Sound. They hunted for themselves and also for white fox furs, which were becoming an important source of barter.

In the late 1920's, there were over one hundred summer and winter camps with an overall population of about 350 people. As whaling declined around the mouth of the Cumberland Sound, traditional hunting areas deeper in the Sound became popular. Sirmilling Bay, Clearwater Fiord, Nettilling and Pangnirtung Fiords were the locations of most of the new camps. They were concentrated here because of the large caribou, walrus, char and white fox populations which were scarce in areas around the whaling stations.

At about this time the Hudson's Bay Company shifted its interests into the far north. The small, independent trading posts were soon swallowed up by the Bay, which was larger, better organized and usually more efficient. The Bay was attracted by the high price for white fox in the south and its abundance in the north.

The Bay decided to open a post in the Cumberland Sound. It wanted a place in an area which had seen very little European activity and where there were few traditional camps. They hired a hunter, Attagoyuk, to find such a place. In 1921, he chose a place previously called "the place of the caribou antlers" or "the place where the caribou fight". This was Pangnirtung.

II. THE MISSION HOSPITAL

With the establishment of the Bay store in Pangnirtung, importance now began to shift from the whaling station to the new settlement. The Anglican Mission moved from Blacklead Island to Pangnirtung in 1926. With it came a strong demand to set up a medical unit for the people of the Sound. St. Luke's Hospital opened in 1930, the only hospital on Baffin Island. It was solely supported at this point by funds available from the Anglican Mission.

For several years there was only one doctor. It was his responsibility both to operate the hospital and to travel to the many stations as often as possible. This was either by dogsled in the winter or by canoe in the summer. The hospital soon became the medical centre for Baffin Island.

When the American Armed Forces built a hospital in Frobisher Bay shortly after World War II, the need for the smaller Pangnirtung hospital disappeared and in 1970 the hospital was replaced by a new Federal Government three-person nursing station.

III. THE R.C.M.P.

In 1923, the R.C.M.P. brought its first detachment to Pangnirtung and the heavy hand of government arrived in Cumberland Sound. In those early days, the police were responsible for the mail, welfare, law enforcement and all related government business. They had to patrol all the camps. They made periodic visits to Kipisa camp and to the settlement of Broughton Island. Kipisa is now closed. Broughton Island now has its own detachment. Today, much of their work has been taken over by other agencies. Pangnirtung maintains a two-man detachment, with an additional special constable. Nukiguak and Joanasee Dialla are two former special constables, who are famous all over the region.

IV. THE ANGLICAN MISSION

The Anglican Mission became a self-supporting parish in 1977. It is responsible for its own expenses, the minister's salary and the upkeep of his house. In 1970, the Anglican Church opened the only theological school for native people in the Canadian Arctic. The Arthur Turner Training School graduated the first four northern-trained Inuit ministers in 1978. The school is housed in the buildings which were formerly the hospital.

V. EDUCATION

During the early years, the Anglican Mission ran a small school, teaching the basics including English and Math. The Federal Government brought its first teacher in to Pangnirtung in 1956. With the completion of a new school in 1962, education was available to every child in the settlement. The school has been constantly expanded to keep up with the continued influx of people from the camps. Attagoyuk School is named after the "founder" of Pangnirtung.

VI. THE MOVEMENT TO THE SETTLEMENT

It is wrong to assume from all this that Pangnirtung was a bustling settlement with a large population. Cumberland Sound, itself, had a population of about 350 in 1925 and Pangnirtung had about 54 residents. Thirty years later, the population of Pangnirtung had risen to about 94 people and that of Cumberland Sound had almost doubled. Today, the situation has reversed with about 1050 people living in Pangnirtung, while none live in camps. (February 1985)

This sudden reversal came about as part of the large evacuation which began in 1962. Previously, Pangnirtung's population had varied from poor hunting season to good and from the periodic outbreaks of tuberculosis, which forced many families to live near the hospital.

In 1962, a disease killed most of the dogs in Cumberland Sound. Families were destitute, for hunters could no longer travel. Little could be done for the people in the many small camps and the Government arranged for everyone to be airlifted to Pangnirtung.

During this period, the Government arranged a regular welfare system for the Inuit. The building of rental houses was started and became gradually available to all. Education was expanded and the school finished.

In the following year, people began to move back to their camps. Altogether, 15 camps started up again. Many people found it hard to re-adjust to camp life. Many were persuaded to return to the settlement by the Federal Government, which was then committed to organizing both social services and people. By 1967, only one camp remained. Of the whaling stations and other camps, only a few oil drums remained. The camp at Kipisa and Pangnirtung had become the only two areas of population left in Cumberland Sound.

VII. THE MOVEMENT BACK TO THE CAMPS

By the early 1970's, the Federal Government was reconsidering its march to centralization. It was decided that the Inuit should be encouraged to return to the land and go back to their traditional way of life. Beginning in 1976-77, the Government encouraged this movement by giving once-only grants to help families relocate and to establish new camps. Until lately there were four permanent and semi-permanent camps in Cumberland Sound. Many other camps did exist from time to time as hunting seasons varied, however Ushaluk, Torpait, Opingivik and Kapisa were the only permanently established camps. Ushualuk, Torpait and Opingivik closed down in the early 1980's, with one family remaining in Opingivik until 1984. The people of Kipisa moved to Pangnirtung in the summer of 1983. The camp leader, Nowyuk, was sick and wished to be near the nursing station. All of the other families (about 70 people) followed his lead. Nowyuk died in the fall of 1984.

VIII. THE CAMPS

Ushualuk: Vacant since 1964, Ushualuk was re-established in 1977, when two families moved back. It is an excellent area for char, whaling and seals. The fifteen or so people who live there move into Pangnirtung in the winter and return to their tents in the spring. There is no electricity and no radio communication but since it is so close to Pangnirtung, it is relatively accessible. Ushualuk is now only a seasonal camp.

Torpait: Until 1978 Torpait was a permanent camp. Although there is a small wooden house on the island, most people lived in tents in the summer and igloos in the winter. Whale and seal oil, burned in stone lamps called "kudliks", were used for both heat and light. In 1978 both families living in camp (about 12 people) moved to Pangnirtung for the winter, but returned once the fiord ice was safe to travel on. The camp closed in 1981.

Opingivik: This camp started up again in 1978 and was similar in size to Kipisa. There were six families (about 35 people). Most people lived in small, match-box houses, and a few remained in winterized tents. There was a radio transmitter for daily contact with Pangnirtung. Oil was available and a generator supplied some electricity and heat. The generator, however, frequently broke down. In 1978, a Peterhead boat brought a large building to the camp. This was used as a trading post and store. Opingivik was the only camp with an excellent natural air strip, which was used from time to time for supplies and medical emergencies. One family remained until 1984. Lypa Pitisulak and his family moved into Pangnirtung in the summer of that year. The camp is now closed.

Kipisa: This camp was the oldest of the four. It is one of the oldest permanently inhabited sites in North America (4000 years). It closed in 1983. About 40-45 people lived in the camp permanently. They were within a 1/2 hour's skidoo ride to Opingivik Store. There was an oil generator which produced electricity and there was daily radio contact with Opingivik and Pangnirtung. There was no adequate airstrip in the camp but in the winter an area was cleared on the ice for planes. Most families lived in the small match-box houses. The region around Kipisa and Opingivik is rich in walrus, caribou and seal. In 1983 the people moved to Pangnirtung to be with the camp leader, Nowyuk, who was sick and wanted to be near the nursing station.

IX. THE HAMLET

The settlmement of Pangnirtung officially became a hamlet on April 1, 1972. Many of the decisions and problems facing this community can now be dealt with on a local level by local people.

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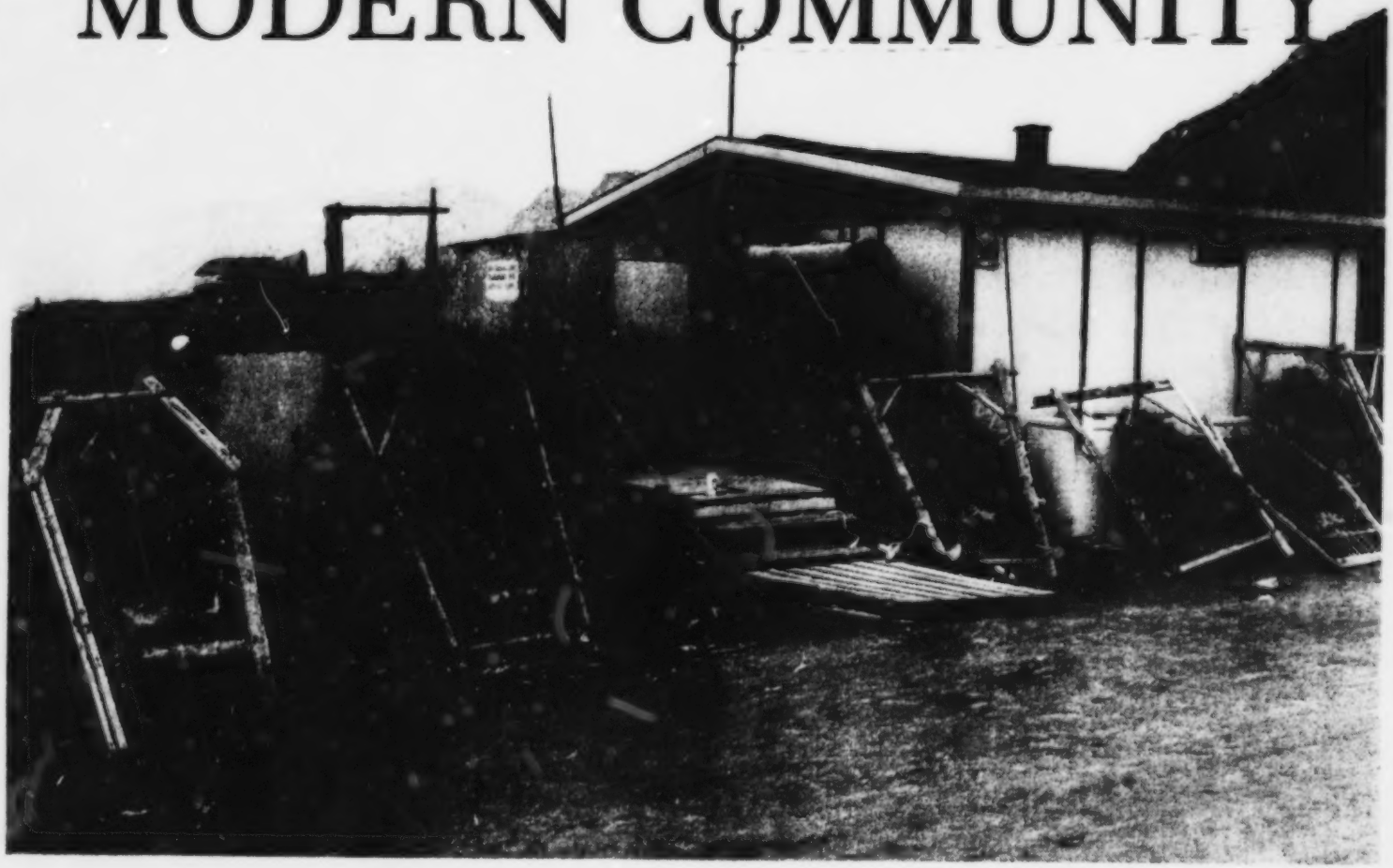
MODERN COMMUNITY



PANGNIRTUNG STATISTICS
(February 1985)

Population 1050

White Adults 45
Inuit Adults 338
White Children 20
Inuit Children .....657 (approx.)

Oldest Resident .....Katsoo Evic, Born March 1898

Length of Airstrip ..... 762 meters

Pangnirtung attained hamlet status on April 1, 1972. It is presently governed by a municipal council with a mayor, deputy mayor and six councillors. There is also a secretary-manager and an assistant secretary-manager. The population of Pangnirtung is 1050 people. Because of local construction work and the National Park, Pangnirtung has a large transient population. Many mountain climbers, hikers and nature lovers are attracted every summer to Auyuittuq National Park. In addition, there is a thriving tourist business during July and August because of good fishing in the area.

Although many of the local people still hunt as their main source of income, many are employed by the Municipal, Territorial and Federal Governments. Jobs include work in the Hamlet garage, the school, the weaving shop, the post office, driving trucks, maintaining Hamlet equipment and buildings, and working as secretaries, fish and wildlife personnel and social workers. There are private businesses which also provide employment.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

HAMLET COUNCIL

Pangnirtung's Hamlet Council has a mayor, deputy mayor and six councillors. There are approximately thirty permanent employees of the Hamlet Council as well as twenty to twenty-five casual workers in the summer.

It is the job of the Secretary-Manager and the Assistant Secretary-Manager to manage the finances of the Hamlet, to negotiate contracts, to supervise Hamlet employees after the council has established the job descriptions, to monitor all contracts and report on them to the council, to attend council meetings and to record and ensure that all decisions of the council are acted upon and to advise the council on municipal, federal and territorial laws.

The Hamlet council provides regular services of garbage collection, water delivery, sewage pick-up, road maintenance and dog catching as well as recreation and employment services. The Hamlet has a contract with the Ministry of Transport to maintain airport communications and to physically maintain the run-way. With its casual summer workers the Hamlet handles other contracts such as maintenance on the water reservoir.

WATER AND SEWAGE

In Pangnirtung, water is delivered to houses where it is pumped into holding tanks. In a similar manner, the sewage is pumped out of houses into the sewage truck. It is then dumped outside the town. In the houses with no holding tanks for sewage, the used water runs out through pipes and ends up on the ground outside.

More than fifty homes in Pangnirtung still use the "honey bucket" system. The honey bags are picked up on a daily basis and dumped outside of town.

EMPLOYEES OF PANGNIRTUNG COUNCIL

Mayor
Secretary-Manager
Assistant Secretary Manager
Clerk Typist
Community Health Representative
Town Planner Trainee
Recreation Coordinator
Canteen Operator
By-Law Officer
Foreman (Garage and Services)
Head Mechanic
Assistant Mechanic
2 Equipment Operators
1 Garage Apprentice
1 Postal Clerk
2 Incinerator Operators

1 Outreach Worker (Canada Manpower Centre, which helps with unemployment claims, disputes, etc.)
7 Municipal Services workers:
- 2 water truck drivers (1 doubles as the school bus driver)
- 2 men on sewage pick-up (honey bags)
- 2 garbage collectors
- 1 sewage pump-out truck driver

1 Building Maintainer
2 Observer Communicators (work at the airport as radio operators)

LOCAL COMMITTEES AND ASSOCIATIONS

There are various committees in town which come under the Society Ordinance for the N.W.T. These committees include the Alcohol and Drug Education Committee, the Community Hall Association, and the Local Education Committee.

HUNTERS & TRAPPERS ASSOCIATION

The Hunters & Trappers Association was formed to promote efficiency in the hunting community. For example, this association has input into the decision as to who gets tags for hunting animals which have a quota. This association also informs biologists of the location of animals.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT

SOCIAL SERVICES

Social Services employs a Social Development Officer and a clerk in Pangnirtung.

FISH & WILDLIFE

Fish & Wildlife is run by the Territorial Government. It employs two permanent staff. Personnel are responsible for game management. They are the enforcement officers for the fisheries. They work with the Hunters & Trappers Association on quota controls and resource harvesting.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS

DPW employs four permanent staff. This department is responsible for maintaining territorial buildings in Pangnirtung. DPW has their office in the school.

WEAVING SHOP

The Weave Shop is operated by the Territorial Government. Ten to twelve women are employed to work on the large, floor-style looms. The weavers make a variety of items. These include wall tapestries which represent Inuit people usually in traditional skin clothing, hunting, walking or playing games. Many of the drawings used as patterns for the tapestries are the work of Malaya Akululjuk. She is nearly 70 years old and lived in camps until about twenty years ago, when she moved to town. Other items produced at the Weave Shop include blankets, scarves and amautik ties (for tying around the waist of the parkas that the babies are carried in), floor and place mats and purses.

ATTAGOYUK SCHOOL

There is a staff of twenty-five at the school, which includes twenty teachers (four of these are T.E.P. graduates), a principal, two classroom assistants and two janitors. There are seven separate classrooms and an open area which can be divided up into smaller areas for classes. There are also a a gymnasium, a home economics room, an industrial arts shop, two portables on the school grounds which are used for adult education and two portable classrooms which will be used for Grade 11 starting in the fall of 1986. Planning is underway for a new, seven-classroom primary school for Pangnirtung. This school should be completed by 1990 and will alleviate the now crowded conditions in the school.

ADULT EDUCATION

There is one full-time and one half-time Adult Educator in Pangnirtung. Previously the adult education program was hampered by the fact that there was no adult educator bilingual in English and Inuktitut. However, this problem is now solved, with two bilingual educators, though the program sill suffers from lack of adequate funding and access to resource materials.

In the 1984-85 school year there were 266 participants in the adult education program (66 male and 200 female). It is to be noted that several courses were offered in the form of short (one or several days) workshops and one person might well take several courses and thus be counted several times. Courses offered during the 1984-85 year included evening upgrading, work release program (upgrading done during the work day by employed people to upgrade their basic skills), skidoo repair, traditional sewing, sealift ordering, income tax form completion, traditional language, money management, English improvement, basic training skill development and several more. The target age group for adult education is 17 to 25 years of age.

LIBRARY

The Territorial Library is located in the school and it includes many books which have been purchased by the school. There is presently a part-time librarian. Pangnirtung's new Interpretive Centre, which will include the Tourist Information Centre and possibly a Parks Canada office, will be the new home of the library. It is expected to be completed by the spring of 1987.

HOUSING ASSOCIATION

The Housing Association is funded by the N.W.T. Housing Corporation and by the rent collected locally. The Association employs eleven people.

By the fall of 1986 there will be 173 Housing Association homes in Pangnirtung. The rent scale is from $32.00 to $507.00 monthly. The Association is a highly subsidized government-funded program but it is also a cost sharing program. Tenants are expected to pay their rent and to do minor maintenance on their homes. Their rent is determined by the family income.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

NURSING STATION

There are three nurses, one full-time and one part-time clerk-interpreter, one housekeeper, a part-time janitor, and a dental therapist employed by Health & Welfare Canada in Pangnirtung. This community is fortunate to have a well-equipped nursing station. It is supplied with an x-ray machine, a small lab, an incubator, a small pediatric ward which includes two cribs, a maternity ward with one bed, and a larger general ward with three beds. There is a policy when possible at the nursing station of not keeping people in the station for more than 24 hours. If a patient requires hospitalization for a longer period, s/he is medically evacuated to the Frobisher Bay Hospital. The reason for this policy is that time spent on one person who needs to be hospitalized takes away the nurses' time that could be spent treating a greater number of people in the community (clinics, etc.)

There is an active public health program (preventative medicine mostly) in Pangnirtung. This program includes immunizations, a venereal disease program, various clinics such as a well-baby clinic, a well-child clinic, a geriatric program, and chronic disease clinic and public health education. As well, there is a school program with liaison between teacher, parents and nursing station.

The station has an open clinic from 8:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon on Mondays through Fridays. The afternoons are used for the various clinics. The nurses are in contact with the doctors and the hospital in Frobisher Bay. A nurse is also available on an emergency basis at all times.

NATIONAL PARKS OFFICE

Auyuittuq National Park makes a National Parks Office in Pangnirtung necessary. There are eight permanent employees. The Superintendent takes care of the administrative matters and an administration clerk manages materials such as books and fuel oil. There are also a secretary, a Chief Park Warden as well as three other wardens, one of whom is stationed in Broughton Island; and a maintenance person. During the summer months, six additional people are employed, including three wardens who do foot patrol in the park and an information officer who works in the office.

The wardens advise people who plan to visit the park, offer assistance to hikers or campers who run into difficulties, and also enforce game regulations within the park boundaries.

R.C.M.P.

There are presently two officers in Pangnirtung. There is also a Special Constable.

PRIVATE BUSINESS

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

The needs of Pangnirtung residents are well met by the goods provided at this modern department store. The Bay, which employs eighteen people, sells everything from groceries to household goods to snowmobiles and motor boats. The major portion of the store's stock arrives on the sealift in the late summer or early fall. Fresh foods are brought in as "food mail" through the post office, which charges the same rate as fourth class parcel post. This method of bringing in fresh food began in late November 1982 because it is much cheaper than regular freight rates.

PEYTON ENTERPRISES

Peyton Enterprises is owned and operated by Ross Peyton. The business employs five permanent staff during the year with an additional nine people in the summer, plus casual workers from time to time. There are many facets of the business: Peyton Lodge, a 16-room hotel located in Pangnirtung; Clearwater Camp, a fishing camp operated from Mid-June to Labour Day (there are guides, a cook and maintenance people employed to work at this camp which supplies running water, beds and meals); Kingnait Fiord Camp, a tent camp for people who really want to "rough" it; transportation by skidoo in winter and boat in summer to Auyuittuq National Park.

Peyton Lodge is busiest from mid-June to Labour Day due to the heavy influx of tourists - mostly fishermen and hikers. In the winter months, many transients stay in the lodge. Many people, including many Americans, come to Pangnirtung so that they can skidoo up to the National Park. Glacier skiing has also attracted people to the area.

THE ESKIMO CO-OP

The Eskimo Co-Op in Pangnirtung buys carvings, handicrafts and arctic char from the local people for resale to the public. The Co-Op employs eleven people during the summer months. In the fall, the staff is increased by fifteen due to the opening of the print shop.

Until 1978, the Co-Op concentrated on carvings, prints, handicrafts and the sale of some dry goods. The Co-Op brings in soapstone and ivory for sale to local carvers. The Co-Op now also has a full line of groceries, some furniture and other dry goods.

PANG PIZZA

This business opened in 1982. It also rents video movies and sells fast foods such as pizza, hamburgers, and donuts. There is also a video games arcade.

PETER'S PLACE

This coffee shop is owned and operated by Peter Kilabuk and Peter Evic. Some fast food is sold at the shop as well as some clothing. The coffee shop has pinball machines, a juke box, and lunch tables. There are also pool tables and video movies can be rented here. It caters to the young people in Pangnirtung who spend a great deal of time there.

MAKTUYUK CONTRACTING

This business, which is owned by three local men, does general contracting around town.

J.R. PEYTON ENTERPRISES

Owned by Jeff Peyton, the son of Ross Peyton, this business does gravel work, construction, leases buildings, rents equipment and distributes fuel in Pangnirtung. There is also a snack bar/arcade.

PANG TAXI

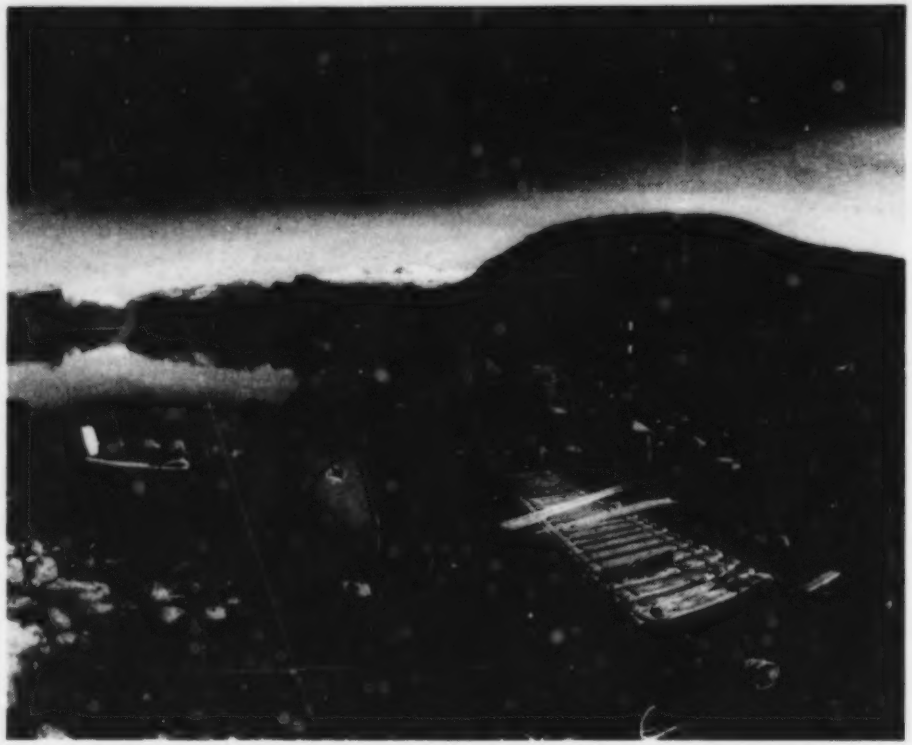
Pang Taxi does general cartage and hauling in Pangnirtung. It also has the contract to haul the mail.

AKILLIQ

This is a general retail/convenience store which features deli items like cold cuts, cheese and fresh pastries. It also carries various souveniers like T-shirts and caps.

THE SEWING CENTRE

After struggling along for several years with various grants and funding arrangements, the old Sewing Centre is now closed. A new, private sewing centre is in the process of starting up.



TRANS-PORTATION

Air service to Pangnirtung is provided by First Air out of Frobisher Bay. During the winter there are three flights per week from Frobisher and twice a week the plane stops in Pangnirtung on its way south from Pond Inlet. During the summer there are four flights a week from Frobisher Bay. The plane used is a 748.

The airstrip runs right through the middle of town. It is 762 meters in length, and can accommodate the Dash 7 and Buffalo aircraft.

There is a yearly sealift into Pangnirtung in the late summer or early fall. The ships bring goods for businesses and private individuals. The ship sails from the port of Montreal and ranges in size from 726 tonnes to 3,629 tonnes. Ice breakers and fuel tankers also make stops in Pangnirtung.

For local transportation, there are many government vehicles and some privately owned cars and trucks. Most people travel by snowmobile in the winter months. There are also some three-wheeled all terrain vehicles which are now being replaced more and more by four-wheeled ATVs for reasons of safety. A few people also own motorcycles or "Odyssey" buggies which they use in the summer.

REFERENCES

Ron Mongeau
Rob Redhead
Jim Noble
Yvonne Peyton
Louise Peyton
Megan Williams
Ross Peyton
Jaypeetee Etoangat
Adamee Komoaratuk
Mary Ellen Thomas
Phil Fenn
Marcia Fenn
Bob Young
Nancy Amilniliak

TRANSPORTATION RELATED PROBLEMS

1. Location of the Airstrip

Until the late 1960's, Pangnirtung did not have an airstrip and was serviced by ski-equipped aircraft in the winter and amphibious aircraft in the summer. The development of the present airstrip began in the late 1960's and has done much to provide improved and more reliable air service to the community. However, the location of the air strip has proven to be a major concern and the source of a number of community problems.

The community has developed on both sides of the airstrip. The majority of school children now live on one side of the strip while the school is located on the other side. This requires most children to cross the airstrip four times a day on their way to and from school. As the frequency of aircraft using the airport increases, so does the risk of safety to those people who must cross it.

The location of the airstrip has tended to fragment the community into two groups, both physically and socially. The people living south of the airstrip tend to be more isolated socially from the major activities and the "pulse" of the community. The separation of the two parts of the community has also given rise to the duplication of some community services and the resulting increase in costs.

The present airstrip location has also created a number of problems with regard to long term community planning. Due to site restrictions (cemetery, unsuitable land, houses), it is almost impossible to lengthen the present 762 meter runway. The runway is adequate for the present type of aircraft in use, but dictates against the introduction of larger jet aircraft. Without the introduction of this type of aircraft, Pangnirtung cannot look to cheaper travel and lower freight rates.

A great deal of suitable building land is no longer available because of the location of the airstrip and certain M.O.T. zoning regulations designed to prevent building too near an airport. As a result, the community is now facing a shortage of good building locations. This lack of room for future expansion is a major problem facing the community.

Much consideration and speculation has been given to the relocation of the present airstrip. If this could be accomplished much suitable building land would be made available to the community. The problem of children crossing the airstrip on their way to school would disappear. There might be fewer social barriers and the community might become more cohesive. Two possible site locations have been mentioned as alternatives to the present location. One is 3 miles from the community, the other is 11 miles away. The cost of building a new airstrip, coupled with the tremendous cost of building an access road in the mountainous terrain, will have a great deal to do with which site is eventually chosen, if indeed a new site is even considered as a viable alternative.

2. High Freight Costs

As with most Arctic communities, Pangnirtung is afflicted with very high freight costs. Large bulky items are shipped in on the annual sealift. Although the freight costs on sealift are considerably cheaper than by air, freight costs make all items brought into the community expensive. Pangnirtung has a short shipping season. There is no docking facility and all freight must be brought from the ship to the shore by landing barges. All of this, coupled with the damage to the freight due to all the handling and lack of proper unloading facilities, makes sealift a rather expensive and risky business.

Air freight from Montreal was around $3.85 per kilogram in 1986. This makes anything brought in to the community by this method very expensive. The high cost of air freight makes it expensive for people to always obtain highly nutritious fresh foods.

High freight costs also make the cost of energy very expensive. Gasoline and fuel oil are brought in on the annual sealift. Heating of homes is extremely expensive and since electricity in the community is generated with diesel fuel, it too is extremely expensive.

3. Importation of Alcohol

Until 1977, alcoholic beverages could be purchased and imported into the community for personal use. There is considerable local opinion against the use of alcohol, and in 1977, Pangnirtung petitioned the Territorial Government for the right to hold a local plebescite on whether or not the community should adopt the prohibition of all alcoholic beverages. The vote was held in the summer of 1977, and the result was in favour of complete prohibition. Pangnirtung has been a "dry" community since the plebescite.

Although Pangnirtung was not afflicted with serious alcohol problems, it was the feeling of many in the community that it was only a matter of time. Another Liquor Plebescite was held in 1982, with a higher vote in favour of prohibition than previously. Another vote was held in the fall of 1984, and again a higher number than previously voted for prohibition.

4. High Fuel Costs for Hunting

As mentioned previously, the price of gasoline is extremely high and is forecast to be much higher in the future. Hunters now use canoes equipped with outboard motors and skidoos. Both of these machines use gasoline which means the costs of operating them are rising all the time. With the concentration of so many people in one place now, the area immediately surrounding Pangnirtung is becoming less productive in terms of game animals. Hunters are now being forced to travel much further in order to find game. This means increased fuel costs. The hunters are being caught in a cost-price squeeze, and the high costs of gasoline further aggravate the situation.

5. In-Settlement Transportation

Transportation within the settlement is an increasing concern for many people. The long distance that many children have to travel to get to school is a concern to many parents and teachers. A small school bus has been purchased by the Hamlet to bring younger children to school, but attendance at school suffers due to the longer distances some children must walk.

Due to the two separate population centres in the community, municipal service vehicles (sewage, garbage and water delivery trucks) must also travel greater distances. Local roads are hard to maintain because there is very little good quality gravel available. As a result the roads wash away in the spring and are full of pot holes in the summer. The long distances that the municipal services must travel help to compound the problem.

People living on the south side of the settlement must travel a long way to get to the store, post office, community hall or church. This is especially hard on the older people who often do not have access to a skidoo or other means of transportation.

COMMUNICATIONS

BELL CANADA

Pangnirtung receives telephone service from the satellite. Telesat is the company that builds and maintains the receiving disk. There are twelve telephone circuits in and out of the community. Direct dialing is now available.

C.B.C. RADIO

This service is also received from the satellite. National programming originates in Toronto. Most regional programs come from Frobisher Bay and Rankin Inlet, although some programming comes from Inuvik and Yellowknife. There is also a local radio station which produces local programming to broadcast during hours when national programming is being aired. The local radio station has about five hours per day of access to the air waves.

C.B.C. TELEVISION

Northern television service is also beamed off the satellite. The news programs include The National, Saturday Evening News, and Here and Now, which is broadcast from St. John's, Newfoundland. There is also northern-oriented television programming: Taqravut, a 15-minute weekly show from Ottawa (soon to come from Yellowknife); Our Ways, a half-hour weekly show from Yellowknife; Northland, a half-hour weekly show from Inuvik; and five and a half hours of largely Inuktitut language programming from the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation which comes from Frobisher Bay. Anik Info provides information throughout the North. Job openings and special events are advertised several times each day, each announcement's number of appearances depending on the number of announcements to be made.

HIGH FREQUENCY RADIO PHONES

The R.C.M.P. has a two-way radio phone to all other posts in the North. Game Management has a two-way radio between Pangnirtung and Frobisher Bay and other settlements with offices. They also can communicate with boats that bring in the yearly sea-lift to Pangnirtung. The National Parks office has a high frequency radio which operates between Pangnirtung and Broughton Island and all park stations on the trail between these two communities. First Air has a high frequency radio which communicates with other agents in other communities, with the head office in Frobisher Bay and with the airport.

The airport communicates at very high frequency with all aircraft in and around Pangnirtung. The operators of this radio advise pilots on local weather, traffic and landing conditions. During regular flight hours, the operators are always available and, if requested, they are available for any plane which lands after regular hours. There is also a high frequency system which pilots can activate when they are near to Pangnirtung to automatically turn on the runway lights in the event that they must land and the operators on the ground are not available.

The Hudson's Bay Company has a high frequency radio which can communicate with other Bay stores in the North.

FREQUENCY MODULATION COMMUNICATION

The hamlet has an FM communication system with walkie-talkies and mobile phone patches. There are three channels which the base station in the Hamlet office monitors.

a) one channel for all municipal services, eg. the water truck
b) one channel for heavy equipment such as road work
c) one channel for the airport and any emergencies.

DEX MACHINE

The National Parks office has a Dex machine which reproduces letters on other Dex machines elsewhere using the telephone lines.

POSTAL SERVICE

Mail is supposed to arrive in and leave Pangnirtung three times weekly (with scheduled air service). The mail service frequency depends on the weather. The post office is open approximately 15 hours weekly.

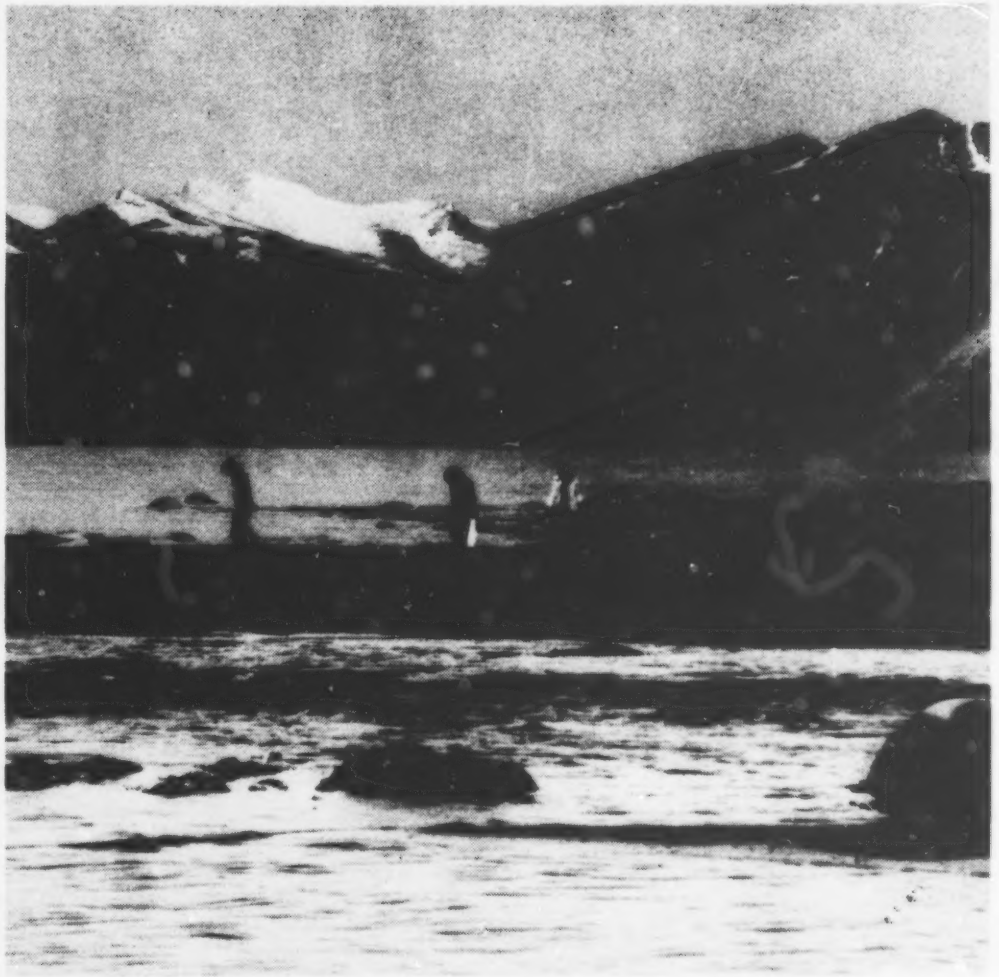
FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS

There are certain groups in town who would like to purchase a telex machine in the near future.

REFERENCES

C.B.C., Yellowknife
Bell Canada, Frobisher Bay
Ron Mongeau, Pangnirtung
Mike Gardener, Pangnirtung

A number of local residents supplied information used in this unit.



TOURISM

AUYUITTUQ NATIONAL PARK

a) History and Management

There are thirty-one National Parks in Canada. Three of the latest, added in 1972, were formed in response to a growing interest in the North, and concern for its environment. These were Kluane National Park in the Yukon, and Nahanni and Auyuittuq National Parks in the N.W.T. Auyuittuq is Canada's most northerly National Park. It is also the third largest National Park in Canada, after Wood Buffalo and Kluane. Auyuittuq covers 21,471 square kilometers. Within its boundaries lies some of the most spectacular landscape in the world.

The Parks Board is given a budget of approximately a million dollars a year for the purpose of maintaining the park. This covers all salaries and allowances, utilities, services, maintenance of vehicles and buildings, etc. The costs of special projects, such as trail building, are also included. Six full-time salaried positions are filled through local hire. These are three wardens, one secretary, one administration clerk and a maintenance foreman. As well, up to six seasonal wardens are hired locally for the summer months. Contract workers are also hired when necessary to do construction and clean-up work. At times, up to twenty-six local people are hired.

The final position of the boundaries of Auyuittuq will be subject to the Native Land Claims Settlement. At present, the Inuit have hunting rights within the park, although it is not extensively used for this purpose. There is some fishing and fox trapping taking place, and a limited number of bears and seals are hunted in the northern parts.

In general, visitors to the park spend very little time in Pangnirtung, therefore having almost no effect on the Hamlet. The establishment of a National Park prohibits any drilling or exploration in this area, thus the park has the support of the local people. Requests for extensions of park boundaries have been submitted, though there is little likelihood of this occurring.

b) Visitors in the Park

Occasionally, groups such as the Arctic Institute of Alpine Research or the Scott Institute from Cambridge, come to Auyuittuq for the purpose of scientific research. The majority of visitors to the Park, however, come to back pack, climb or cross-country ski.

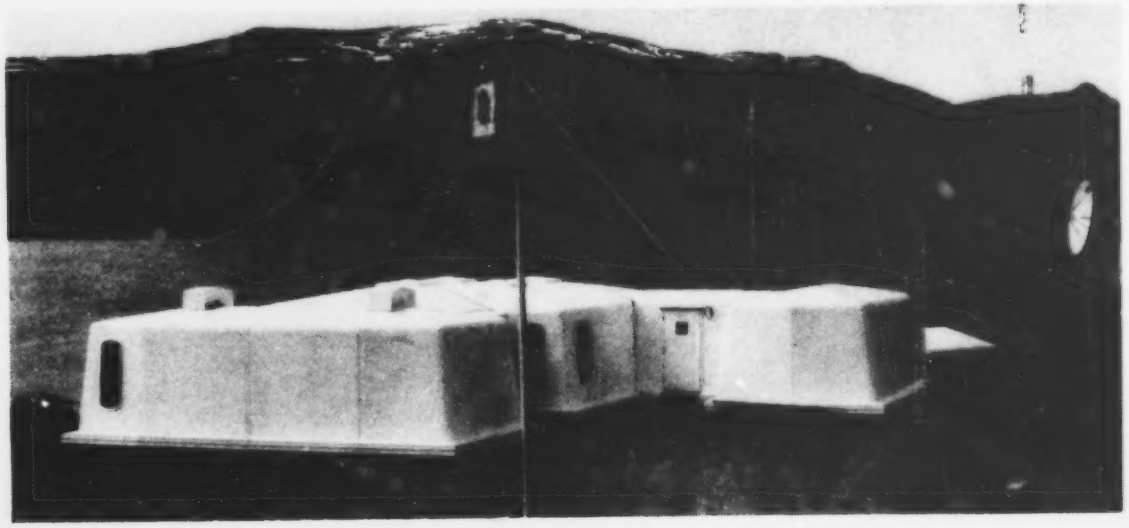
The season begins with the arrival of the cross-country skiers in April, and continues until the end of August. The weather in April is relatively cold, in May it frequently storms, and in June one faces the hazards of run-off; although the 24-hours of daylight make June a good month for climbers. Most people favour the period from mid-July to the end of August.

In the 1985 season, approximately three hundred and fifty people visited Auyuittuq National Park. The majority of these, 64%, were Canadians. The remaining visitors came from the United States (28%) and European countries and Japan. Another three hundred and fifty people (approximately) visited the exhibit at the Parks office in Pangnirtung but didn't actually go into the park.

c) Access

The closest settlements to the Park are Pangnirtung to the South, and Broughton Island to the North. Either settlement can be reached by scheduled commercial airline. Campgrounds are available in both settlements to accommodate visitors waiting to go into the park, or those awaiting transportation back to their homes.

Transportation from Pangnirtung to the park is dependent upon the weather. Normally, a snowmobile and komatik can be used on the frozen surface of the fiord until late June. During July and August, boats or freighter canoes can be hired locally. With advance planning, helicopters and light aircraft charters can be arranged.



d) Hiking and Mountaineering

While a chartered flight over the park may give a visitor an interesting perspective, true understanding can be gained only through close contact with the land. The hiker will encounter deceptive distances, lack of shelter and natural fuel, and rough terrain. He will have to wade ice-cold rivers, and use his knowledge of mountaineering to safely travel along glaciers.

The potential for mountain climbing in this area has been recognized since 1953. Today, most of the peaks in the park have been scaled at least once. The peaks sill afford an isolation and challenge that few other places in the world can offer a climber.

e) Clothing

A hiker needs clothing that is warm, light-weight, and wind-proof. Waterproof clothing will be useful in case of rain, or when travelling by boat or canoe. A down jacket to protect against the cold, and a light, hooded jacket to ward off mosquitoes should be included. Running shoes and a ski pole or axe will make river crossings safer, while dark glasses will prevent snow blindness when travelling along snow or ice, even in summer.

f) Shelter

Camping for an extended period of time can destroy the local vegetation. Sand plains are very uncomfortable when the wind rises. Areas entirely lacking in vegetation should be avoided, as they are probably unstable. A small sand or gravel area, or a dry, grassy site, is usually best.

Cooking fires should be surrounded by stones, and precautions taken to ensure that the fire cannot get into an extensive area of heather. As pits cannot be dug below permafrost, all garbage that cannot be burned should be carried out of the park.

II. CLEARWATER FIORD FISHING CAMP

a) Location

The camp is located at the head of Clearwater Fiord, approximately 100 kilometers by air northwest of Pangnirtung, or about 115 kilometers by boat. The buildings were erected on a large sand deposit, in the shelter of low mountains (elevations of approximately 305 meters).

b) History and Management

The camp was in operation for one summer in 1968. At this time it was run by the Government. Since 1970, it has been privately owned and operated by Ross Peyton.

Approximately thirty people are seasonally employed at the camp. Most of the employees serve as guides. There are also a manager, a cook and two or three cook's helpers.

Guests are charged $175/day, which includes transportation to and from camp, accommodation, and their food. Most bring their own fishing equipment, although, on request, this can be borrowed from Peyton Lodge in Pangnirtung.

c) Facilities

The camp can accommodate nineteen people at a time, in seven wood and fibreglass cabins and one tent. There is also a combined cookhouse and dining quarters, a separate lounge, and a small two-bedroom staffhouse for the manager and the cook.

d) Season

The camp is usually open for six weeks, from July 10 to the end of August. The opening date is dependent upon the ice breaking up in the fiord. The closing date corresponds with the annual migration of the char to inland waters.

e) Access

Transportation to the camp is available from Pangnirtung. Visitors may choose to travel by a 12 meter boat, which offers the advantage of indoor quarters, or they may make the trip in less time by canoe. The trip by canoe takes about four hours.

In the past, a float plane has been used to transport guests, but this proved to be economically unfeasible.

f) Visitors

In 1985, approximately eighty-five people came to fish at Clearwater Fiord Camp. Sixty percent of the visitors are usually Canadian, 20% American, while the remaining 20% come from Europe and Japan.

Most of the guests stay for five days, including two days travel time. Some stay as long as 2 weeks.

Fishing in the area is excellent, and visitors easily catch their daily limit of 4 char. They are not permitted to have more than seven fish in their possession at any given time.

On the average, visitors to the fishing camp spend two nights in Pangnirtung. They support the local economy through the purchase of sealskin articles, carvings, etc.

III. OTHER TOURISM

Small groups or individuals also come to visit Pangnirtung at various times. Many are attracted here by the alpine landscape and the park. Most are interested in travel, cultures, history, art, photography, etc.

Of these, the naturalists form the largest single group. They usually travel in groups of two-three, although occasionally a group of twelve to sixteen may arrive.

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Wilson, Roger. The Land That Never Melts. Auyuittuq National Park, Parks, Canada, 1976.

VERBAL REFERENCES

Redhead, Robert. Parks Board.
Peyton, Ross. Peyton Enterprises

STS

LANGUAGE

Inuktitut is the "official" language of Pangnirtung, though most people have at least some knowledge of English, and many are bilingual. This is largely due to the long period of contact with whalers in this area.

Differences in dialects exist between various regions. Baffin Island Inuit do not fully understand the Greenland dialect, nor those dialects spoken in Spence Bay or points west. They can understand all the Eastern Arctic dialects. Exposure to various dialects, through C.B.C., has helped to bridge this gap.

Within the Baffin Region, two separate dialects are spoken. Residents of North Baffin communities, including Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay and Iqloolik, speak a separate dialect from those in the communities of South and Central Baffin. Elements of Arctic Quebec dialect are present in some northern communities, especially Grise Fiord. Traditionally, there was little contact between the people of North Baffin Island and those of South and Central Baffin Island.

There was, and is, considerable travel between various communities of South and Central Baffin Island. These people also meet annually when hunting caribou at Nettilling and Amadjuak Lakes. This close contact between communities is probably responsible for similarities of dialect in this area.

Language variations within the communities of South and Central Baffin can be thought of in terms of accent, rather than dialect. Some sounds become inter-changeable: for instance, "S" in Pangnirtung is pronounced "T" in Cape Dorset. Individual words may also differ from place to place.

The language spoken in Pangnirtung is most closely related to that spoken in Broughton Island and Clyde River. It differs most from that of Cape Dorset. Some Cape Dorset words are known only by the old people in Pangnirtung, while others are missing from the vocabulary altogether. High-pitched intonations are noticed in local speech. The camp people at Kipisa speak with a slightly different accent than those who live in Pangnirtung.

Linguistic changes are becoming apparent in Pangnirtung. Some words here, as in Frobisher Bay, are being shortened. Certain local words are being deleted, and replaced by words from other settlements which name the same thing. Words for store-bought food, engine parts, and greetings, as well as technical, business and committee words have been adopted from the English language. Certain words, which relate to traditional lifestyles, are now known only by the old people. Young people tend to mix English and Inuktitut.

The written language was introduced to the Inuit about 100 years ago. The syllabarium, based on Pitman Shorthand, was developed by James Evans, a missionary to the Indians, in approximately 1850. It was adapted by Reverend Peck to suit the needs of the Inuit, around the year 1880. Peck, one of the first missionaries to Cumberland Sound, taught syllabics to the Inuit of this area. Some of the first Inuit to write syllabics were from Cumberland Sound.

Syllabics is a concise form of writing which, when used correctly, leaves no chance for misunderstanding. The people of Pangnirtung much prefer syllabics to Roman Orthography.

EMPLOYMENT

I. SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

The local economy is rather fragile in nature with a very high financial dependence on government expenditure which is typical of many northern communities. In the "private sector" we find a fairly well developed craft industry, fairly vigorous retail and service activity, and an emerging tourism industry. However, we still find very strong activity in the traditional pursuits of hunting, trapping and fishing.

The traditional activities of hunting, trapping and fishing provide a supplement to income in the form of "country food" and through the sale of skins and furs. However, hunters are continually at the mercy of the fluctuating markets and restricting quotas. The increasing costs of fuel, hunting equipment and supplies (canoes, skidoos, ammunition,etc.) have the hunters in a "price squeeze". Yet the whole concept of "hunting" as an important economic activity is very deeply rooted and is still regarded as being very important by most people of the community.

Soapstone carving, whalebone carving, and print-making are well developed, but the whole craft industry has not been a high profit maker. A shortage of suitable soapstone has hampered many carvers recently and many are now switching to the medium of whalebone. The Weave Shop is still in the development stage and depends on sizeable injections of government funding and grants.

The tourism industry is highly seasonal in Pangnirtung, although there is considerable room for expansion and development. The number of people visiting the National Park is growing annually. It appears feasible that more jobs in the future may be available in providing tourist services.

Pangnirtung is afflicted with a number of profound weaknesses in the labour market and the distribution of employment opportunities. The majority of permanent jobs that demand professional or managerial ability are dominated by non-natives (i.e. Hudson's Bay Company, Co-Op, National Parks, hotel, Weave Shop, R.C.M.P., Hamlet, schools, N.C.P.C.). Levels of general education are extremely low, particularly among those who are more than 30 years old. Unemployment is very high. The unemployment rate was said to be 24% in 1984. This figure is for those 15 to 64 years old who are either employed or looking for work. It does not include those who would work but who have quit looking because there is no work available for which they are qualified.

Some statistics on community income reveal some of the economic problems faced by the community. The average income of Pangnirtung residents for the 1983 taxation year was $10,122.00. The average N.W.T. income for that same year was $18,028, which makes the average Pangnirtung income only 56% of the average N.W.T. income. The average income in Canada's poorest province, Newfoundland, (where the cost of living is considerably lower) was $12,571 in 1983. Pangnirtung residents do not even have the option of moving to another community in the region to obtain employment in most cases because the situation is similar for

the Baffin as a whole (and indeed for much of the N.W.T.) Of those Baffin residents who completed income tax returns in 1983, the largest number, 1009 people or nearly 24% of the total, had an average income of under $2000. It is to be noted though that many mothers with no income file a return in order to claim the Child Tax Credit. By contrast, only half that number (504 people or approximately 12%) earned $20,000 to $30,000.

In 1979, an update of the "General Development Plan" for Pangnirtung was carried out. In conjunction with this a questionnaire was circulated to 101 households (52.3%) in the community. The respondents were asked to describe their employment status according to a number of given headings. The following is a breakdown of the results received.

Hunting, trapping and fishing	7.3%
Hunting, trapping, fishing, with some wage employment	10.4%
Wage employment with some hunting, trapping, fishing	19.8%
Wage employment	37.5%
Social Assistance	16.7%
Wage employment and Social Assistance	7.3%
Carving	1.0%

II. FUTURE EMPLOYMENT

The small increase in the number of jobs in Pangnirtung does not bode well for the future, especially as the population growth for the Baffin region is the highest in the N.W.T. Between June 1981 and June 1985 the Baffin had a 15% growth rate. This is compared with the Kitikmeot and Keewatin with rates of 12%, Fort Smith region with 11% and Inuvik region with 10%. (Population Estimates, Government of the Northwest Territories Bureau of Statistics, June 1985). It seems obvious that some dramatic effort must take place in the area of job creation. The alternatives are either an increase in the number of persons engaged in hunting activities supplemented by social assistance programs, or a migration away from Pangnirtung by many young Inuit who are looking for employment.

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ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION

HOLIDAYS AND SPECIAL DAYS

Christmas

Christmas activities begin with the Christmas concert at the school. All students participate. There are church services and on Christmas Day there is a feast of traditional foods at the Community Hall.

The Week between Christmas and New Years

The Community Hall Association sponsors many social events during this week. Every evening, there are games in the school. Different games are played each night, with prizes for the winners of each individual game. There are games of skill, strength, fun and luck. Each night after the games, there is a dance at the Community Hall which usually lasts until dawn.

New Year's Eve

On New Year's Eve many people on snowmobile meet on the fiord. They then make a formation and parade on the ice and through the town at midnight. Many gun shots are fired and sometimes a cannon is fired. There is then a New Year's Eve dance which usually lasts until morning.

Hamlet Day

This holiday occurs on the first Monday in April. It commemorates the date when Pangnirtung was incorporated as a Hamlet (April, 1972). There are various games in town that day.

Spring Games and Easter

These two events occur on the same weekend. There are games such as igloo building contests and races held on the frozen fiord. At Easter, there is often a feast of traditional foods at the Community Hall.

SPORTS AND ACTIVITIES

Sports is a very important source of recreation for the people in Pangnirtung. The school gym is booked every day usually from 8:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. From 4:00 - 5:30 p.m. the school children use the gym for intra-mural games such as basketball, volleyball and floor hockey. At night the gym is booked for different sports on specific nights. The following sports are most widely participated in:

Volleyball:	There is junior boys' and girls' team and a senior mens' and ladies' team. They are usually involved in the Arctic Winter Games.
Basketball:	There are usually 4-5 teams organized among the men in town.
Floor Hockey:	This is a very popular game, with an organized league. This and many other activities take place at the new Recreation Centre (opened June 1986)
Baseball:	There is now a baseball diamond and games are often played, but are not organized.
Women's Fitness:	There is usually a class organized for those interested.
Badminton:	There are recreation, mixed games played one night a week.
Hockey:	With the completion of the outdoor ring in 1984, hockey games started. These are not fully organized yet. As the outdoor rink is very cold it is mainly used in the spring when the weather gets better. Broomball is also played on the rink.

Cadets

Many young people in Pangnirtung, both boys and girls aged 13-17, belong to Cadets. They meet once a week. Good citizenship and leadership are emphasized although other courses such as riflery and map and compass skills are taught. The Cadets also participate in day and overnight outings. Every summer many Cadets are sent to summer camps in places such as Vernon, B.C. and Whitehorse, Yukon.

Since 1983 there is a permanent summer Army Cadet camp in Pangnirtung where Cadets from all across Canada come for training. The camp is in three locations - a base camp in the community, one camp in Auyuittuq National Park and one outside town on the shores of Cumberland Sound. Unfortunately, there is not much inter-action between these Cadets and the Pangnirtung Cadets because the young people from Pangnirtung are usually away on their own summer trips at the time the other Cadets are in Pangnirtung.

Cubs

Local people organize these activities for boys, who get together once a week.

Brownies Guides and Pathfinders

These have been very popular activities for girls.

Northern Lights

This is a church-organized activity for young people in the community who are in their teens. They come to the church hall one night a week for activities such as Bible study and singing. Some trips and social outings are planned.

Community Dinners

Especially during December, the Home Economics room at the school is very busy as it is used for the various group dinners which precede Christmas. Groups such as the Education Committee, the Co-Op, Northern Lights and the Cadets and Volleyball Association put on these dinners and prepare food for other functions. During Easter week there is also a community feast, but the new Recreation Centre is usually used for this function. During the summer most people are out on the land so there are not many organized activities in town.

Bingo

Bingo has been a very popular activity in Pangnirtung. At times there have been bingo games every night of the week for many weeks running. However, some effort has been made to organize the games better and have only one game per week, with various groups in town running the games. Money raised is used by the groups for various community activities.

PHOTO CREDITS

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There are also several other community studies and a series of community slide sets by teachers and students available on loan from Regional or Area Resource Centres.

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